

# The American Review of Reviews

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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## Contents for November, 1928

THE AIRSHIP "GRAF ZEPPELIN".....FRONTISPIECE

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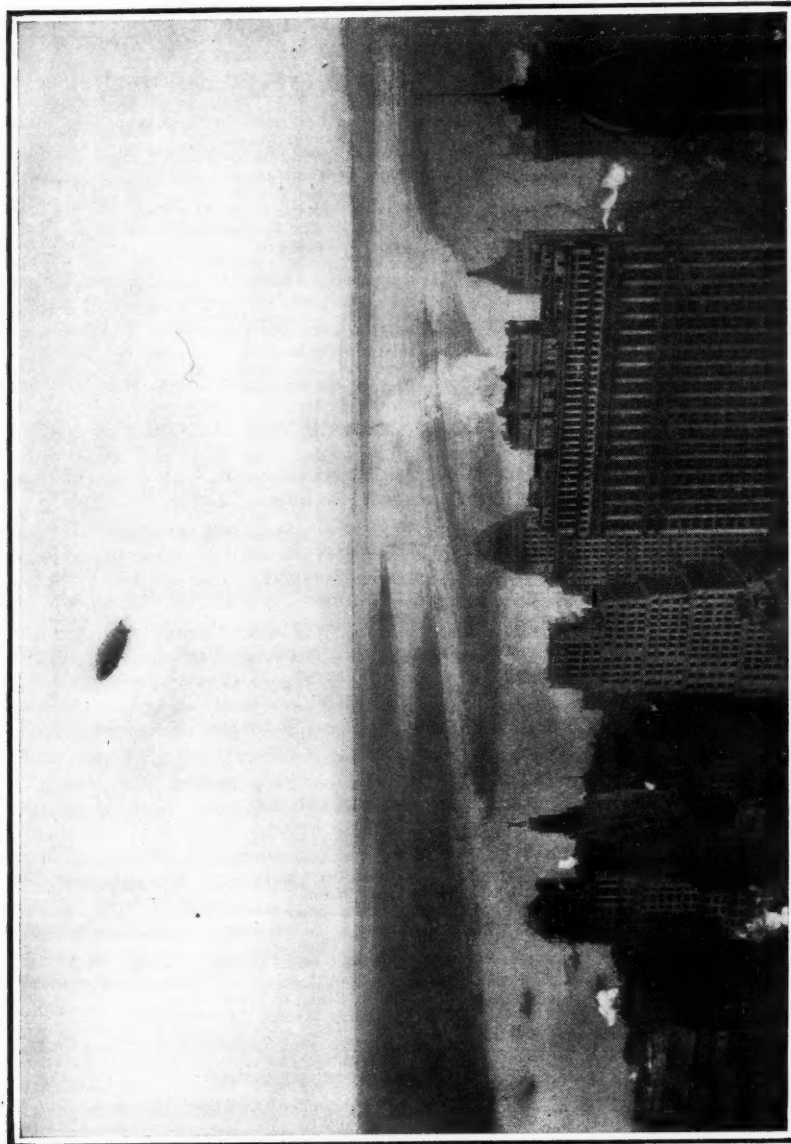
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### THE "GRAF ZEPPELIN" OVER NEW YORK CITY, ON HER FLIGHT FROM GERMANY

A view from the Woolworth Tower, on October 15, showing the giant dirigible sweeping majestically over New York harbor. The flight marks the first transatlantic trip of a commercial air liner. The altering of its course to avoid storms, and the repairing of a damaged stabilizer at sea, had lengthened the voyage from Friedrichshafen, Germany, to Lakehurst,

New Jersey, to one of 111 hours duration and 6,000 miles distance.



# The American Review of Reviews

November, 1928

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## The Progress of the World

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BY ALBERT SHAW

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### *Porto Rico and Its Emergency*

Two facts have somewhat obscured a variety of current matters of an external character that would otherwise, at this time, be making more urgent appeal to the interest of American readers. One of these facts is the absorbing presidential campaign, and the other is the nine months' interval between sessions of Congress. The hurricane of the middle of September that wrought much havoc in a limited area of Florida, swept with devastating effect across every acre of the island of Porto Rico, while it also injured the Virgin Islands, that are now under the American flag, and was destructive in certain French and other islands of the Lesser Antilles. The European governments, through their colonial offices, deal with emergencies of this kind without delay. They usually have public funds available, and in no case do they issue calls for private subscriptions to support voluntary agencies of relief. If Congress had been in session, it is presumable that an appropriation would have been made out of the national treasury to aid Porto Rico's immediate plight. An urgent need of working funds for rehabilitation remains, after the first demands for food and shelter have been met. Even with Congress absent from Washington, the case of Porto Rico would have been impressed more fully upon the minds of American citizens, through Red Cross appeals and otherwise, but for the extent to which national and local political activities have been occupying the time and effort of leading citizens in every State.

### *The Disaster and Its Results*

We are publishing in this number two articles on the situation in Porto Rico, one of them from the pen of Dr. Benner, Chancellor of the University at San Juan, and the other by Mrs. Van Deusen, who has been for some time resident in the island as the wife of an officer in the United States Army. Mrs. Van Deusen describes more especially the nature and extent of the disaster, while Chancellor Benner, serving with Chief Justice Del Toro and others upon Governor Towner's committees in administering relief, informs us of the measures that have been taken, and of further needs. The island itself has an efficient government, and the spirit of self-help has actuated the whole community, with official Insular agencies energetic, and with voluntary coöperation. The roads had first to be cleared of debris in order that motor trucks might distribute food and supplies. Many hundreds of thousands of poor people were made homeless by the destruction of small houses constructed of light material. Fortunately, the loss of life was not great. The sugar industry is prosperous enough to rehabilitate itself without delay. The beautiful groves of coconut palms were practically destroyed. Besides several varieties of palm, ancient trees of other kinds in towns and on hillsides were to a great extent uprooted. It will take several years to restore the devastated coffee plantations; and the injury to the orchards of citrus fruit, oranges and grape-fruit particularly, will also require a considerable period for full recovery.

*Permanent  
Plans of  
Rebuilding*

Fortunately, nature deals kindly with well-favored semitropical regions like this island of Porto Rico. Plant growth is luxurious, rainfall is for the most part ample and well distributed, and a population accustomed to intensive agriculture knows how to make the soil yield a maximum of vegetables and fruits. But the peasants and small cultivators of Porto Rico have no capital with which to restore their homes and to await the maturing of future crops. A large fund ought to be available, to be used judiciously and distributed as non-interest-bearing loans to the entire population that must be rehoused. On certain sugar plantations, as at Fajardo, there has been carried out for some years a policy of model housing for employed families. Such a plan ought now to be adopted for the rebuilding of the homes of the Porto Rico country people, including also the laborers who live in villages, with a view to proper sanitary arrangements, and to permanence of construction. Rehabilitation in Porto Rico deserves treatment as a large problem, on the analogy of the rebuilding of the devastated parts of Belgium and France after the Great War. This general problem of reconstruction is apart from that of emergency relief; but if it is to be adopted at all it will not admit of much delay, because homeless people must be somehow sheltered. With proper treatment of the question, they might be rehoused suitably. Otherwise their improvised housing may be worse than it was before, and that would be calamitous from the standpoint of health and well-being.

*Red Cross  
Efficiency*

It was reported to President Coolidge (who is *ex officio* President of the Red Cross) by the acting Chairman, Mr. James L. Fieser, that five million dollars, which was the minimum amount first proposed, had already been contributed through Red Cross Chapters by the American people for relief work in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Florida. The Red Cross admirably combines the principles of governmental and voluntary relief effort, and it is so well organized that it can rise to almost any situation without delay. Judge Payne, who is permanent Chairman of the American Red Cross, was in Europe last month, presiding at a special meeting of the international representatives of the League of

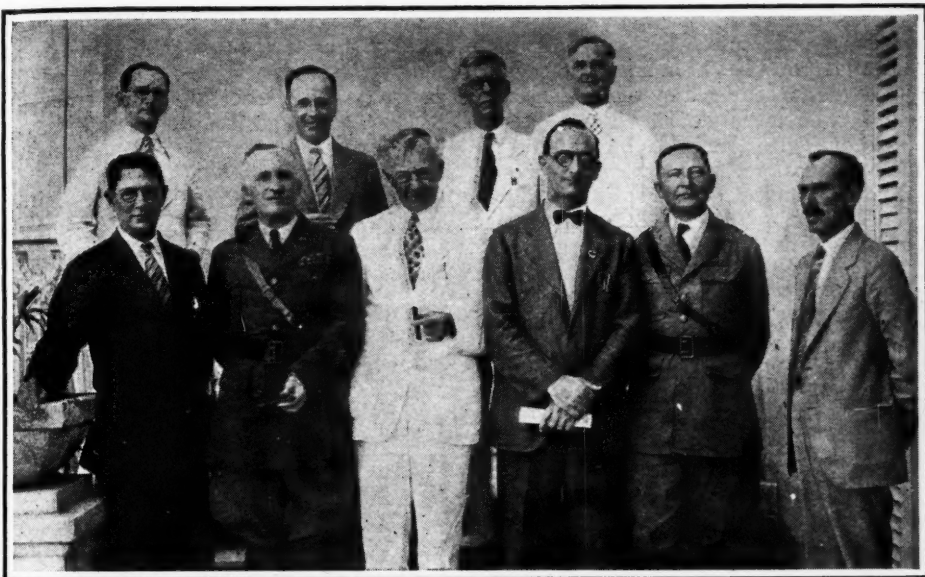
Red Cross Societies. Mr. Fieser and other Red Cross officials went to Porto Rico in the middle of October to act with the Insular Government in surveying what has been accomplished thus far, and what further relief work will be required. The real function of the Red Cross is admirably fulfilled when it provides for stricken populations in their need of medical attention, food supplies, clothing, and shelter, where otherwise there would have been unrelieved suffering. But, on the other hand, the financing and management of the less immediate business of permanent rehabilitation is a task of statesmanship that should come under full governmental direction and control. Mr. Fieser will, at the end of October or early in November, join in a survey of relief conditions in Florida. Meanwhile, Mr. George E. Scott of Chicago, who was general manager of the Red Cross in wartime, and during the Mississippi flood disaster of 1927, will be in administrative charge at Washington.

*Congress  
Should  
Act*

There ought to be made available by Congress, in the early days of the forthcoming session in December, a definite fund to be advanced, upon some suitable plan, to aid the Porto Rican government in converting the island into the best possible example of a well conditioned West Indian community. Porto Rican leaders are men of high intelligence and civic capacity. They are also our fellow-citizens under the Stars and Stripes. We are desirous of the confidence and friendship of Latin-American peoples in Mexico, Central America, and throughout the South American continent. A concrete way of demonstrating our friendliness lies in the adoption of policies for the welfare of Porto Rico that shall result in making that beautiful island a model, and an example worthy of the admiration alike of English-speaking North Americans and Spanish-speaking citizens of the other republics.

*Education  
as an  
Object*

The University of Porto Rico, and the medical, agricultural and higher schools of the island, should be so amply encouraged and aided that an exchange of teachers and students would be seen as equally advantageous. Scores of thousands of students in the United States are learning to read or speak Spanish; and it could be made beneficial for many of them to complete their study of



Photograph by *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*

**LEADING RESIDENTS OF PORTO RICO WHO SERVED ON AN EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMITTEE**

In the front row, from left to right, are: Chief Justice Emilio del Toro; Brig.-Gen. Hugh A. Drum, U. S. A.; Gov. Horace M. Towner; Col. Henry M. Baker, of the Red Cross; Col. George M. Helms, U. S. A.; and Cecilio Moran. In the back row: Judge Pablo Berga, Dr. A. Fernos Isern, Andres Gandia, and Capt. R. J. Van Deusen.

that language in Porto Rico. With no thought of a lessened devotion to the Spanish language and to their Latinic culture, young Porto Ricans who are now learning English in all of their schools should also find it increasingly to their advantage to study further in the United States. The eagerness of Porto Rican children to attend school is praiseworthy, and just now the teachers are holding their classes out of doors, or in almost any kind of improvised place that affords some shelter. Congress would make no mistake if it should in December take steps to show a generous appreciation of our friends and fellow-citizens of Porto Rico.

*Where the  
Storm Struck  
Florida*

We are publishing information elsewhere in the present number regarding the effect of the tropical hurricane in September upon that portion of southern Florida that was severely affected. Most of the news dispatches appearing in the northern papers came from West Palm Beach; and the average reader throughout the country was left, after a few days, with no clear idea of what had happened, or of the extent to which the storm had injured Florida. The news dispatches were devoted almost ex-

clusively to reports upon the loss of life on the southern shores of Lake Okeechobee, and in the submerged Everglades district. It was not so much the violence of the hurricane, as the flooding and overflow of the waters of the lake that caused the unfortunate loss of two or three thousand lives, the majority being colored workmen and their families who had no available place of refuge. Leaders of opinion in Florida are now convinced that the United States government should promptly construct a broad additional canal, connecting the lake with the Atlantic Ocean at the nearest point to the eastward, with a view to reducing the level of the lake by a number of feet. They further propose a substantial embankment or levee to be built by the State of Florida around the entire lake.

*Recovery  
Prompt and  
Assured*

By far the greater part of Florida was at least as free from damage as is the State of New York in the more severe of the gales that cause some harm in one district or another in almost every succeeding year. The devastation was in no wise as destructive as that which overtook Vermont in the floods of a year ago. President Coolidge, since his return from his summer sojourn in

Wisconsin, spent two or three days in examining for himself the extent to which his native State has been making recovery; and he was encouraged by the evidences he found of the capacity of his Vermont friends to discount their losses, to be thankful for their mercies, and to work out their new economic problems. The spirit of Florida is no less resolute than that of New England; and those who have somewhat vaguely imagined that the Florida catastrophes of 1926 and 1928 have left that State without reasonable grounds for optimism and enthusiasm, are absurdly lacking in accurate information. By reason of natural advantages and of accessibility, Florida has a better outlook as a resort for winter visitors, and as an area suited for the market supply of certain kinds of vegetables, berries and fruits, than any comparable region in the entire world.

*A Question  
Wisely  
Ignored*

It is a good rule, generally followed by leaders of both parties, that our campaigns should deal with domestic issues, and that party difficulties should not be carried beyond the coast lines. While the Philippine question has a domestic aspect, it is also inextricably involved in the diplomatic problems of the Far East. With the provocation afforded by a demand in the Democratic platform for the immediate independence of the Philippines, it is a striking evidence of good sense that, so far as we are aware, neither candidate for the presidency has made any allusion to that plank. The Republicans have not the remotest idea of setting out upon such an amazing adventure in the abandonment of responsibility as would be involved in striking our colors at Manila. If they thought the Democrats really meant it, they could hardly have avoided the issue in campaign debates. Since such a change in our relationships throughout the basin of the Pacific would be fraught with hazardous consequences, it could not be accomplished without the support of a strong public opinion and after thorough debate. The Democrats have not ventured to follow up this platform demand with further challenge and arguments. It is obvious, therefore, that they are not in dead earnest so far as this clause of their platform is concerned. Apart from the leadership of two or three individuals who have been skilful enough to control the legislative chambers at Manila, the independence

movement would have had little or no vitality among the natives. When those individuals—whether for private or for public reasons—falter in their zeal, the independence movement vanishes in thin air. If it were not true, fortunately, that our influential Democratic leaders are so much more responsible than might be supposed from certain casual planks in the Houston platform, there would be some ground for anxiety.

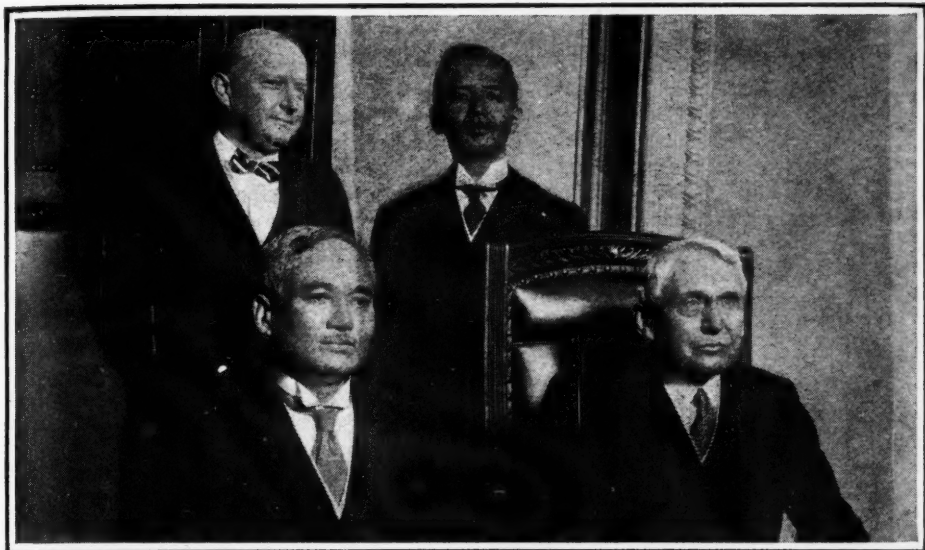
*"Peace with  
Honor" in All  
Directions*

In point of fact, when the dust of the election contest ceases to darken the atmosphere, there will be a good chance to impress upon the whole American public the excellent reasons we have for congratulation upon our external relationships in every direction. There has hardly ever been a time when—with no serious disputes or difficulties on hand—our Department of State had so many topics upon its daily calendar. There has not been the slightest color of partisanship in the conduct of our foreign relations. To withhold approval of the Pact of Paris, more commonly known as the Kellogg Treaty, because the present Administration happens to be Republican, would be narrow, unpatriotic and contemptible. Nobody should suppose that the multilateral treaty will, of its own force, forever put an end to warfare by land or by sea. Former Democratic officials, conversant with this subject, like Messrs. Lansing, John W. Davis, Norman Davis or Frank L. Polk, would have been justified in expecting hearty Republican approval if they rather than Mr. Kellogg had been in office to join the French Foreign Secretary, Mr. Briand, in the correspondence that ultimately took form in the multilateral treaty.

*Consult  
Your  
Senators!*

It is important that constituents of every Senator in our forty-eight States, without regard to party, should confer during November, while Senators are still at home, with a view to threshing out thoroughly all the pros and cons involved in the question of ratification. As we understand the treaty, both on its face and in its implications, it does not commit us to any course of action in case of the violation of its principles by other countries. No government is asked to abrogate the inherent right of self-defense. Neither is any government obligated by this treaty to intervene with armies





COUNT UCHIDA CALLS UPON SECRETARY KELLOGG

On his way home to Japan from Paris, after signing the treaty condemning war, Count Uchida paid his respects to the American Secretary of State at Washington. He is a member of the Privy Council, which occupies a peculiar place in the Japanese system of government, interpreting the constitution, acting upon all treaty matters, and ranking next to the Emperor. Standing in the rear are Assistant Secretary of State Nelson T. Johnson and Setsuzo Sawada, counselor of the Japanese Embassy at Washington.

or navies in conflicts between other powers. The treaty has a profound meaning, because it expresses the simultaneous sentiment of the world against war as an instrument of policy. Fifty-five nations, previous to the first of October, had either signed the treaty as original parties, or declared their intention of adhering to it. The Secretary of State has been kept busy answering official inquiries into the form of adherence, or of ratification by legislative bodies, while an endless stream of correspondence has been flowing into the Department from American societies, colleges and individuals, asking for information, particularly as to the practical significance of the treaty.

*Tenth  
Armistice  
Anniversary*

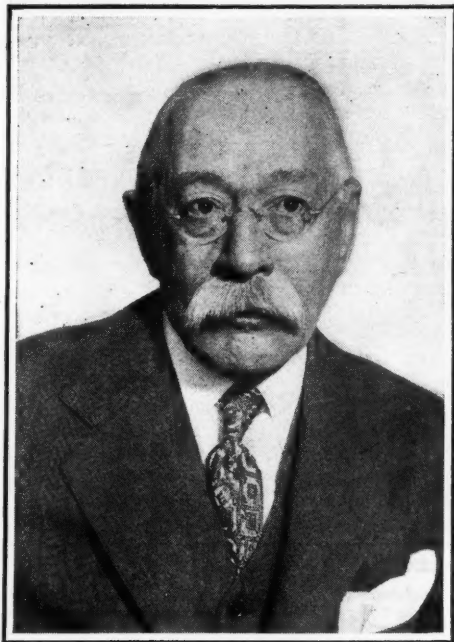
November 11 will mark the tenth anniversary of the Armistice, that ended the military action of the Great War. Peace, as a world object, should be the theme in thousands of pulpits on that Sunday morning; and it might well be presented everywhere in meetings of citizens during the afternoon or evening. Secretary Kellogg himself will speak in New York on that day, at the request of many public-spirited citizens, in a meeting to be held under the auspices of the World Alliance for Peace through the

Churches. This will be five days after election; and such celebrations of Armistice Day can have no partisan bearing. With many difficulties yet to be overcome, the cause of peace in Europe has made genuine progress through the past year or two. The signing of the Pact of Paris, with the German Government represented by its highest official authority, marks a great step in the improvement of relations. Negotiations for the final withdrawal of French and Allied troops from German soil, while not completed, have been far from futile. The best sentiment in England is in favor of prompt withdrawal, without haggling or bargaining. The French are trying to associate the question of evacuating German territory with far-reaching financial settlements. It is likely that within a year the United States may be called upon to give advice, or to take some part in the formulation of a final plan of reparation payments.

*Strengthening  
the World  
Court*

It is to be noted that neither party in the present campaign has raised questions about the League of Nations or the World Court. Sometimes example is more powerful than precept. The fact that Judge Charles Evans Hughes has been willing, at un-





MR. GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM

The Attorney-General of the United States in Mr. Taft's Cabinet has been working as the American member of a committee to codify international law.

doubted personal sacrifice, to accept a place on the bench of the permanent international tribunal at The Hague, is quite as significant in the minds of many people at home and abroad as would have been the concurrence of Congress in the Administration's position as regards our joining officially in the maintenance of that institution. In matters of this kind, the spirit is more to be valued than the letter. In point of fact, we are coöperating in many ways with the League of Nations in particular efforts for international progress. Mr. Wickersham of New York has been giving a vast deal of service, as the American member of a commission of jurists, working under the League of Nations, for the codification of international law. The signing of the Kellogg Treaty will greatly quicken, especially among lawyers and publicists, the keen interest in formulation of particular chapters of international law, and in securing their acceptance on some such plan as that of the recent multilateral agreement. The more completely war is renounced, the more necessary it becomes to press forward with plans for the settlement of questions by courts of law or boards of arbitration.

#### *Armaments Still Under Discussion*

Unquestionably the tendency within the next few years must be toward the reduction of armaments, and toward the strengthening of international influence, whether through the League of Nations or otherwise. The disarmament movement could not, in any case, have been expected to proceed swiftly. It received some set-back when the three-power Conference last year split upon the question of applying the five-five-three ratio to the cruiser strength of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. We are publishing a timely and valuable article in the present number, prepared for us by Captain Goss of the Navy, dealing accurately with this question of cruisers in relation to the navies of leading countries. A tremendous excitement has been aroused, particularly in Europe, over the mysterious agreement between England and France, on cruisers, submarines, and army reserves. Fatuous secrecy provoked floods of derision.

#### *American Reply on Cruisers*

The United States government was asked by England and France to accept this agreement, without having been fully and frankly informed as to the nature, extent and meaning of the Anglo-French negotiations. No more striking bit of diplomacy has been assigned to the credit of any foreign minister in recent times than Mr. Kellogg's note to these governments, frankly declining to accept the Anglo-French agreement as having any bearing upon our own plans or programs. It is a striking fact that the press of all parties—Tory, Labor and Liberal—in England, commended Mr. Kellogg's note, and criticized the bungling diplomacy of Sir Austen Chamberlain. The French government and press also received the Kellogg note with no resentment at all, and with expressions to the effect that France and the United States could undoubtedly find a basis of agreement upon naval reduction, by the adoption of friendly programs to check the wastefulness and harm of competition. It should be remembered that our government had sent delegates to the preliminary conference called by the League of Nations, for the purpose of aiding a subsequent full Conference on the entire subject of disarmament. This pioneer work has been going on now for some two years, with no intention to abandon it. If Secretary Kellogg were speaking upon the subject of the notes sent by him to

England and France, he would unquestionably say that "it required a good deal of time, study and care, to frame a note which would not give general offense, would not discourage limitation of armament, and would still place before the world the interests of the United States."

*Our Policy  
in China*

Few citizens can possibly be aware of the attention and effort our State Department, under the lead of Mr. Kellogg himself, has given during past years and until the present moment to the situation in China. Civil wars had completely disorganized the governmental institutions of that great country; and while bringing calamity upon the Chinese people themselves, the strife had imperiled foreign interests. To protect American citizens during these times without infringing upon the rights of a sovereign nation, and without taking sides in the internal conflicts of the Chinese, has been a difficult task. Doubtless Mr. Kellogg would say that he had never faced a problem requiring more caution coupled with firmness. During all this period, the various factions in China have been calling for a revision of treaties affecting tariff control; for abrogation of agreements denoted by the long word "extraterritoriality"; and for an overhauling of commercial and other conventions. The Nanking incident, involving the murder of an American and the seizure of our Consulate by Chinese troops, had to be dealt with under pressure from various interests demanding military action.

*The Reward  
of Sane  
Methods*

It is greatly to the credit of the sane judgment of President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg, with the approval of leaders in Congress, that we avoided military reprisals. The good will of the Chinese people is ample reward. In January, 1927, and again in March of the present year, Mr. Kellogg gave to the public his statements, communicated to all parties in China, to the effect that the government of the United States was ready to negotiate new treaties in a liberal and friendly spirit. We have actually negotiated a new tariff treaty with the present Nationalist authorities, relinquishing our former share in tariff control, but making proper conditions to the effect that we shall not be placed at a disadvantage. At this moment we are discussing with China the other questions.



CHIANG KAI-SHEK, THE NATIONALIST MILITARY LEADER, WHO BECAME PRESIDENT OF CHINA IN OCTOBER

*China's  
New  
President*

Doubtless these agreements will be facilitated by the choice of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek as President of the Chinese Nationalist Government, his inauguration having occurred on October 10. This occasion was one of wide-spread celebration among the cities and villages of the Chinese Republic. Probably China has never exhibited so much of the spirit of modern nationalistic patriotism on any one occasion as that which was shown at Shanghai, Nanking and elsewhere on the holiday of the inauguration of President Chiang Kai-shek. He had deservedly made a great reputation as military leader of the Nationalist movement, and he is a man of great intelligence and of persuasive oratory. We have much reason to be thankful that we did not permit the Nanking incident to lead us into a useless resort to military measures, the result of which would have been bitter Chinese feeling against the United States.

*Japan's  
Concern  
for Peace*

The Government and people of Japan are now as far from the temptation to seek military or naval adventures as are those of the United States. On September 28, Japan was a scene of festivities by reason of the wedding of the heir presumptive, Prince

Chichibu, to Miss Setsuko Matsudaira, whose father was formerly Ambassador at Washington. With all their democratic developments in Japan, there is profound respect for the Emperor and the reigning family, who stand for the principle of Japan's nationality and unity. While this ceremony was claiming the attention of the Japanese people at home, Count Uchida, who had represented Japan in signing the multilateral treaty at Paris, arrived in Washington, where he was in conference with government officials. He returns to Japan in time to be present at the coronation of the Emperor in November. The Japanese Government has been anxious to have an entirely clear understanding as to the position of Japan in Manchuria, and the continuance for a time of troops in Shantung. Count Uchida was Ambassador at Washington from 1909 to 1911, and since then has served several times as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He gave assurance at Washington that Japan had no object in Manchuria except to protect its treaty rights and vested interests, and was seeking neither to annex that region, nor to assume a protectorate. The Japanese admit that Manchuria is an integral part of China, and not a reserved zone of exclusive Japanese interest. Japan has certain questions to be considered before recognizing the Nanking Nationalist Government in the full sense. It is to be hoped that these matters may be settled promptly and amicably. A well-established national government in China, doing business on good terms with Japan, is what all friends of both countries should desire. Speaking at a dinner in New York, Count Uchida said: "We realize China's difficulties. Our friendship for China as our neighbor remains unchanged. We hope that ere long she will find a way to unity, peace, and order." There are the most cordial understandings between the United States and Japan, and both countries now declare the same principles as regards the "open door" and "equal opportunity" for all nations in the Far East.

*Mexico  
and the  
United States*

It should not be supposed that the complete change in the spirit of our relations with Mexico has come about through fortunate accident, or without great effort directed both to general policy and to matters of detail involving the settlement of claims;

the rights of American landowners under the Mexican agrarian laws; the rights of oil-producing companies, and the demand of other American interests appealing to our State Department. In none of Mr. Kellogg's notes, all of them being now available, could the citizen of the United States or the citizen of Mexico find any hint of threat, or any disposition to invade or challenge the rights of a friendly sovereign nation. It would be a mistake, of course, to suppose that the excellent spirit now shown on both sides could of itself provide a magical solution for particular issues of detail that still have to be decided. But the United States is trying to help Mexico in its progressive policies; and about this the Mexican government and people have no lingering doubts. Ambassador Morrow, who embodies the sentiment of good-will, happens also to be a hard-headed and industrious man of affairs, who is working on practical lines while also spreading the gospel of friendship. No one understands better than Mr. Morrow the financial and economic problems with which our neighbor on the south has to contend.

*Introducing  
President Gil*

The new President of Mexico, Hon. Emilio Portes Gil, was unanimously chosen at a joint session of the Mexican Congress on September 25, a total of 277 votes being cast. Mr. Gil is only thirty-seven years old, and he will serve provisionally from December 1 of the present year through 1929, and until February 5, 1930. In November, 1929, Mexico will hold regular elections and choose a President to serve for the remainder of the full six-year term that will end November 30, 1934. Our readers will remember that President Calles completes his regular term on December 1, and that the choice of Mr. Gil is due to the assassination of President-elect Obregon. Mexico is to be congratulated on having come through this crisis with such admirable self-control. We may expect with some confidence that next year's elections will be free from the aggressive tactics of rival military leaders. Mr. Gil has served for two terms as Governor of the State of Tamaulipas, where he has shown himself greatly interested in social reform and popular education and welfare. He has also served four terms as a member of the national chamber of deputies. He is said to be a man of fine personality, and of the most abstemious and

exemplary habits. His announcements of policy have shown a broad and generous spirit. He represents the views and programs of President Calles at their best. Among other functions he has served as a member of the Supreme Court of the State of Sonora, and is a well-trained lawyer. He is personally a total abstainer and prohibitionist; but he does not suppose that Mexico could at any time in the near future be converted to his views. It is plain that Mr. Gil has made an excellent impression upon the American newspaper correspondents in Mexico City, and his choice is widely acclaimed.

*Nicaragua  
Will Also  
Go to the Polls*

On Sunday, November 4, two days in advance of our own presidential election, the people of Nicaragua will vote for a President of their Republic under conditions more favorable for a fair and honest election than at any previous time. The election held four years ago was under a law framed by an American expert, at the request of the Nicaraguan authorities. We had about a hundred Marines in Nicaragua, and we had decided to withdraw them before the first of September, 1925. We proceeded accordingly; but almost at once a serious revolution broke out, and our government was urgently requested, on behalf of various foreign as well as American interests, to send Marines again, and to aid in restoring order where chaos and anarchy were threatening to ruin the entire country. Hon. Henry L. Stimson, a distinguished New York citizen, now Governor General of the Philippines, was sent to Nicaragua; and he secured an agreement under which the contending factions abandoned their arms and arranged for an election to be supervised by a joint American and Nicaraguan commission. The Sandino outbreak has imposed severe burdens upon our Marine force, but Nicaragua has already reaped great advantages. There is not the slightest shadow of imperialism involved in our Nicaraguan policy, but exactly the oppo-



THE NEW PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD

Emilio Portes Gil was elected by the Senate and House, in joint session on September 25. He will serve as provisional President from December 1 until February, 1930.

site. Under directions from Washington, General McCoy, the Electoral Commission and the Marines are doing everything possible to help Nicaragua assume the rôle of efficient self-government.

*Good Offices  
in South  
America*

We had been regarded as having accomplished nothing but the intensifying of ill-will between Chile and Peru as a result of President Coolidge's efforts in the arbitration of the Tacna-Arica dispute. But such conclusions have now to be abandoned as premature. Nothing else in South America was so encouraging last month as the resumption of diplomatic relations between Chile and Peru, after a rupture that had lasted seventeen years. On October 3, Emiliano Figueroa presented his credentials at Lima, Peru, as Chile's ambassador. At the same time, Cesar Elguera arrived at Santiago, Chile, where as Peruvian ambassador, amidst applause and enthusiasm, he was welcomed by the entire population. President Coolidge had tried to carry out the original agreement that had called for a plebiscite or popular vote in the provinces of Tacna-Arica; but this project simply had to be abandoned because of actual conditions under which practice could not be made to support theory. A better plan was to persuade Chile and Peru to set the world an example of mutual courtesy, and to try in their own way to settle their long-standing dispute. The proposal was made



by Secretary Kellogg to each country that they should renew diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. Mr. Kellogg is still working as friend of both governments to help bring about a settlement that may be hailed as evidence of the new spirit that prevails so strikingly in the circles of Latin-American statesmanship. Thus Costa Rica and Panama are making progress in settling a boundary dispute; and an agreement has been reported between Colombia and Ecuador that does credit to both republics.

*Celebrating  
Cuban  
Independence*

In Cuba they have been celebrating anniversaries of the Independence movement; and veterans of the Spanish-American War from the United States have been fraternizing at Havana with Cubans who took part in the military struggle of thirty years ago. Allusions have been made by Cuban authorities to the fact that the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution has now been outlived. It is quite true that the Platt Amendment is a mere reminiscence, and virtually non-existent. But circumstances sometimes bring to life things that are so long dormant that they seem to be dead and buried. The Platt Amendment has the advantage of protecting Cuba from the possibility of internal disorder. Nobody starts a revolution, because Cuba enjoys the guaranty of civil liberty and republican government, based upon peaceful elections. Neither could Cuba be interfered with by foreign governments on the pretence of financial delinquency, because Uncle Sam would protect the Island's solvency. Our naval base at Guantanamo protects Cuba, while it serves as one of the defences of the Panama Canal. Mutual tariff concessions, giving Cuba favorable access to our market for her sugar crop, are not to be overlooked. Cuba's position, all things considered, is an enviable one; and the Platt Amendment imposes more obligations upon the United States than it does upon Cuba.

*An Arbitration  
Conference  
at Washington*

It is to be kept in mind by friends of international harmony that the Arbitration Conference, which was provided for at Havana by the Pan-American Congress, will open its proceedings at Washington on December 10, with representation of all Latin-American countries without exception. The State Department has been preparing for this important gathering with

diligence and forethought, and with the active coöperation of the Pan-American Union and its officers. It will be remembered that the Conference at Havana declared for the adoption of a general arbitration treaty, to apply throughout the countries having membership in the Pan-American organization. Meanwhile, the State Department has been renewing with various countries the so-called Root arbitration treaties, with clauses that strengthen their scope. It has also been extending, by further negotiations, the list of countries that have accepted the so-called Bryan treaties of conciliation. The State Department has probably never, in any given quadrennial period, had so many different matters of business on its hands; and it may be said, without cavil in any quarter, that these matters have been handled with intelligence and efficiency, and with constant evidence of reasonableness and goodwill on the part of other governments.

*What of  
the Doubtful  
Voters?*

With Election Day arriving on November 6, the individual voter may well ask himself how the protracted campaign has reacted upon his own opinions and political attitudes. A great majority would probably report, if suitable inquiry were made, that their determination to vote for Hoover or for Smith was made before the end of June, and that nothing had been said or done during the months of July, August, September, and October that had in any manner affected their decisions. It does not follow, however, that in a close election the results are determined by these consistent masses of Republican voters and Democratic voters. The sum total of the popular vote for presidential electors four years ago was, in round figures, 29,091,417. Judging by registration reports, the total vote this year will have been considerably larger. Let us estimate it in advance at 35,000,000. If as many as 90 per cent. of the voters had made up their minds by the first of July, it is evident to any one who understands our system that opinions formed during the later weeks of the campaign among the remaining 10 per cent. might readily mean overwhelming victory or crushing defeat for either side. The possible shifting, one way or another, of three or four million votes out of a total ten times as large, would justify campaign efforts of the utmost vigor.



*Distribution  
Rather Than  
Quantity*

Aggregate pluralities, as it happens, do not determine the outcome. For almost a hundred years, one party leader after another has, for reasons of immediate advantage, advocated the election of presidents by direct popular vote, with abandonment of the device known as the Electoral College. Such a constitutional change would, of course, offer every inducement to roll up immense pluralities in the more populous States like New York and Pennsylvania. As elections have recently gone, it is obvious that the direct popular vote for President would have been more serviceable to the Republicans than to the Democrats. With practically no Republican vote to consider, the Southern States have safely furnished their quotas of electoral votes to the Democratic party, with scanty attendance at the polls. Thus four years ago the total popular vote in New York State, which resulted in giving forty-five electoral votes to the Coolidge-Dawes ticket, amounted to 3,256,319. In contrast, the aggregate popular vote for all candidates in six Southern States, which resulted in furnishing a total of sixty-one electoral votes for the Davis-Bryan ticket, was only 727,541.

*Putting  
Effort in  
Critical Spots*

The Coolidge plurality over Davis in New York State was 869,262. But if many States west of the Mississippi had been in serious revolt against the Republican party, the excessive New York plurality would have availed nothing in the final result; and the election might have turned upon a few thousand votes here and there in particular Western States. In 1916, for example, a better distribution of effort, with an avoidance of certain errors of management, would have elected Judge Hughes quite easily. The Hughes ticket carried New York State by 116,554 plurality over the Wilson ticket. Tremendous concentration of campaign effort had been wasted in New York, a mere fraction of which would have averted Republican disaster in California, and would have changed the results in certain Northwestern States. It is these things that campaign managers have to consider; and it is well for the reader who would like to understand the methods of party politics to keep such facts constantly in mind. Immense registrations in October have made it evident that both parties have to deal with changed and obscure conditions.

*Democratic  
Eyes on  
Pennsylvania*

Thus a personage of the highest authority, referring to Mr. Raskob's reported statement that he would unquestionably carry Pennsylvania for the Smith ticket, remarked to the writer of these comments that he hoped Mr. Raskob would concentrate his efforts upon that particular object and be relatively negligent elsewhere. Pennsylvania gave a Republican plurality in the last two Presidential elections of 715,000 in 1920, and 992,000 in 1924. This result four years ago was accomplished in a total Pennsylvania vote of 2,144,852. Democratic management in 1924 of course had no thought of carrying Pennsylvania and made no pretense that such a thing was possible. This year, on the contrary, the Smith management has asserted that such a party revolution was not only possible, but a thing that could be accomplished by plans definitely on foot. This would signify, on both sides, an unprecedented effort to bring out a full vote; and we might therefore expect in Pennsylvania a total vote of 2,500,000. Four years ago in that State the La Follette and other minor tickets polled more than 80 per cent. of the vote cast for the Democratic ticket. This year there will be no great number of third-party ballots, and most of the two and a half million votes will be cast either for Hoover or for Smith.

*A Miss as  
Good as a  
Mile*

If Smith should receive three votes for every single vote that was cast in Pennsylvania for John W. Davis four years ago, he would have a total of a little more than 1,200,000. There would still remain, if we have estimated the total number correctly, 1,300,000 in round figures. So far as the result is concerned, a plurality of 100,000 in Pennsylvania would carry the thirty-eight electoral votes for Mr. Hoover quite as satisfactorily as a plurality of approximately a million, such as the State gave Mr. Coolidge in 1924. In the great cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh there may be some disposition on the part of ward bosses to vote in sympathy with the Tammany district leaders of New York City, especially in view of the wet and dry issue. But the prospects would seem to be that Pennsylvania will remain a Republican State, and that so far as this year's results are concerned, it will not have helped his cause for Mr. Raskob to have concentrated any

great part of his attention and his sinews of war upon that particular commonwealth.

*New York Real Fighting Ground* In New York, on the other hand, the forty-five electoral votes are by no means in the safe grasp of either party. The percentage of shifting and changing votes is high in the Empire State. This is largely because the Tammany organization, although it has secured firm control of the Democratic machinery, is not strictly attached, in national elections, to a particular party. Four years ago New York gave 1,820,058 votes to Coolidge, 950,769 to Davis, and 467,293 to La Follette. On the very same day these same voters gave 1,627,111 to Alfred E. Smith for Governor, and 1,518,552 to the Republican candidate, Theodore Roosevelt. Incidentally it may be said that they gave 99,854 to Norman Thomas, who was running as a Socialist candidate for Governor. In New York County, where the vote is so largely controlled by Tammany, Coolidge had a clear plurality of more than 7,600 votes, but on the very same day Al Smith's plurality in that County was 202,000. In Kings County, which is the Brooklyn portion of the metropolis, Coolidge had a plurality of almost 80,000, while Smith had over 150,000. These figures show quite sufficiently that while Tammany votes enthusiastically for its own candidate for a public office, it is not necessarily loyal to the Democratic party in presidential elections. Its objects primarily are local.

*Tammany Votes for Al Smith* It will cast its vote this year overwhelmingly for Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency; but this will not be on account of the Houston platform or of any adherence on Tammany's part to the principles of the Southern or Western Democrats. New York State has now perhaps 12,000,000 people, of whom 7,000,000 are living and voting within the limits of New York City, and 5,000,000 in all the rest of the State. It is to be expected that there will be a large plurality for Hoover outside of New York City, and a considerable plurality for Smith in the metropolis. There are at stake forty-five electoral votes, depending upon the relative size of these two pluralities. Both parties realize that the final result of the national election may well turn upon the carrying of New York State, and both are anxious because the results are shrouded in

deep uncertainty, with the silent vote keeping its inscrutable secret to itself.

*The State Tickets in New York* With the uncertainties, then, of this situation in mind, both parties were desirous of helping the national ticket by selecting strong and popular candidates for State offices and for Congress. The present Attorney-General of New York, Hon. Albert Ottinger, had been elected as a Republican in 1926, when otherwise the Democratic State ticket headed by Governor Smith carried the day. Mr. Ottinger has made an interesting and in many ways a highly commendable record as Attorney-General. The State Republican Convention nominated Hon. Alanson B. Houghton for United States Senator. Mr. Houghton, who has for several years been Ambassador at London, after having served in a like capacity at Berlin, is a public man of the first rank. He had previously served in Congress and had long been a leader in business and in civic progress. For Lieutenant-Governor, the Republicans nominated Hon. Charles C. Lockwood of Brooklyn. With so well selected a Republican ticket in the field, the Democrats were in a quandary. Governor Smith had been speaking in the West, and the State Convention awaited his arrival. Great elation followed the Governor's success in persuading Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt to head the State ticket. Our readers will remember that Mr. Roosevelt made the telling and eloquent speech at the Houston convention presenting Governor Smith as a candidate. During the Wilson administration he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and a very influential and capable member of the official group that prosecuted the war. In 1920 the Democrats nominated him for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Mr. Cox.

*Roosevelt Versus Ottinger* Few men in the State of New York stand higher than Mr. Roosevelt on the roll of those who are trusted and esteemed as public leaders. He had refused to be a candidate for Governor because, while he is making a steady recovery from an attack of infantile paralysis several years ago that affected his power of locomotion, he needs another winter or two in the South. The decision he had to make was purely his own; and his acceptance of the nomination rendered it certain that New York State, in any



HON. ALBERT OTTINGER, PRESENT ATTORNEY-  
GENERAL OF NEW YORK



HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, FORMER  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

#### THE CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR IN NEW YORK STATE

case, would have an excellent Governor with standards not inferior to those of Governor Smith. Col. Herbert Lehman, a financier of high standing in New York City, who, like Mr. Roosevelt, is a close personal friend of Governor Smith, was named for Lieutenant-Governor. Senator Royal S. Copeland was renominated for another term without opposition. He had formerly served as head of the Department of Health in New York City, and has made a record of useful and intelligent service in the Senate, where he stands well with both sides.

*All Religions  
Welcome on  
Election Day*

This year both parties have seemed anxious in their State tickets to keep in mind the religious affiliations of their candidates. This has not been to cater or show preference, but on the contrary to avoid the appearance of prejudice or discrimination. Thus, Franklin Roosevelt is a prominent Episcopalian, Colonel Lehman is Jewish, Senator Copeland is Methodist. In the complete make-up of the tickets the Catholics, of course, are not neglected. So far as party management goes this year, on both sides the effort has been to avoid

religious issues rather than to emphasize them; and the distribution of candidates has not been so much to draw votes as to neutralize a marked tendency on both sides, in certain quarters, to base political effort upon religious preference. It is realized by the managers of both parties that there is uncertainty about results in at least four Northwestern States, and in at least three Eastern ones besides New York. Furthermore, the Democrats are now aware that there is more possibility of their losing several Southern States that are usually Democratic, than in their gaining a rock-ribbed Republican State like Pennsylvania.

*Rival Claims  
in New  
England States*

The normal Republican majority in Massachusetts may be regarded as about 150,000; but sometimes, in off years, the state has been close. For example, in 1918 it elected a popular Democrat to the United States Senate, and in the 1922 voting for Senator the parties were evenly balanced. But the Harding majority in 1920 was enormous, and four years ago the Coolidge vote as against Davis was almost three to one. It is conceivable that the cities of Massa-

chusetts, especially Boston, might cut down the Republican plurality to the vanishing point this year, because of the peculiar hold of Al Smith upon certain classes of the population; but it does not seem likely that the normal Republican predominance can be completely reversed. For practical purposes a plurality of a hundred voters counts for as much as a clear majority of a hundred thousand. The other doubtful spot in Yankee-land is Rhode Island, where Democratic claims are based upon conditions somewhat similar to those existing in Massachusetts. The Republican campaign leaders express entire confidence that they will carry all of the New England States; but the Democrats are by no means ready to concede in advance that they are likely to lose any States in the East except Maine, Vermont, and possibly New Hampshire.

*Wisconsin  
"Walks"  
Alone"*

Four years ago Senator La Follette's third ticket carried his own State of Wisconsin.

This year the issue lies between Hoover and Smith, with Republican assurances hardly passing current at face value. The individual voter in Wisconsin is now more independent of party ties than the equally intelligent voter in any other state. It is to be supposed that he will gradually realign himself with one of the old parties, although he will continue to be critical of both. Milwaukee, like New York City, makes no apology for its preferences in the matter of liquid refreshments. But Wisconsin people are exceedingly intelligent about many public matters, and they know full well that the President of the United States for the next four years is not going to be occupied in any exclusive fashion with the policy of prohibition, or with the problems arising out of the enforcement of the Volstead Act. The Wisconsin voter, however, is fully capable of understanding that the Democratic party as a whole is no more inclined to the Smith view about the drink business than is the Republican party. It would seem, therefore, that Wisconsin's vote will depend a good deal upon the sincerity, strength, and intellectual authority of the campaign methods used by the two parties. The voters are quite capable, in Wisconsin, of supporting a candidate for the United States Senate on personal rather than party grounds, while making a separate decision as between Hoover and Smith.

*Farming  
and Politics  
in the West*

The Democrats are counting hopefully upon success in several other Northwestern States, especially Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana. The agricultural issue is a serious one in the minds of Northwestern voters, and undoubtedly thousands of them were disaffected by Mr. Coolidge's veto of the McNary-Haugen Bill. The Democratic appeal for western votes has not been convincing because it has been too palpably a matter of electioneering, rather than one of knowledge and conviction about the best course to pursue. It would have been quite simple and straightforward for the Democratic leader to say that he would have approved the McNary-Haugen Bill, and there let it rest. Many of us, whether in politics, in farm circles, or in editorial offices, have been discussing this agricultural problem for a number of years with anxious concern. Undoubtedly Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith are alike in hoping to help frame a new and highly favorable agricultural policy. But Mr. Hoover, with his close familiarity with the workings of the United States Government, understands better than does Governor Smith the major part that Congress plays in legislative matters. The Governor's rather jaunty promise that after his election he will name an unofficial and informal group of advisers, who will then work out a policy that he will at once accept and advocate, seems to ignore the history of efforts already made to secure farm-relief legislation.

*Who Can  
Best Serve  
Agriculture?*

Mr. Hoover has promised to give this subject his profound study and his best constructive effort, working with Congressional and agricultural leaders. That Governor Smith would approach the question with a like sincerity is not to be doubted; but it should be stated plainly and clearly, to those who have held the views of Governor Lowden, that nothing thus far promised on behalf of the Democratic party since the campaign opened would justify claims that Governor Smith, more effectively than Mr. Hoover, would cooperate with Congress to find a satisfactory solution. It is to be considered, meanwhile, that the farm States of the Northwest constitute one of the genuine battle-fields of the present campaign. Party lines have been shattered for several years past, and the voters would seem now to be exceptionally open to conviction based upon





MR. AND MRS. HOOVER SURROUNDED BY ENTHUSIASTIC ADMIRERS

An excellent portrayal of the Hoover personality as seen by many thousands during the tours incident to the campaign. The hand of a well-wisher may be seen lightly touching Mr. Hoover's shoulder.

appeals to their intelligence and their judgment, rather than to their emotions or their prejudices. Mr. Hoover will doubtless have spoken a final word to these farmers, after a Boston speech on tariff and industry set for October 15 and a New York speech on the 22nd, when on his way to California to await the results of election day.

*The New  
Industrial  
South*

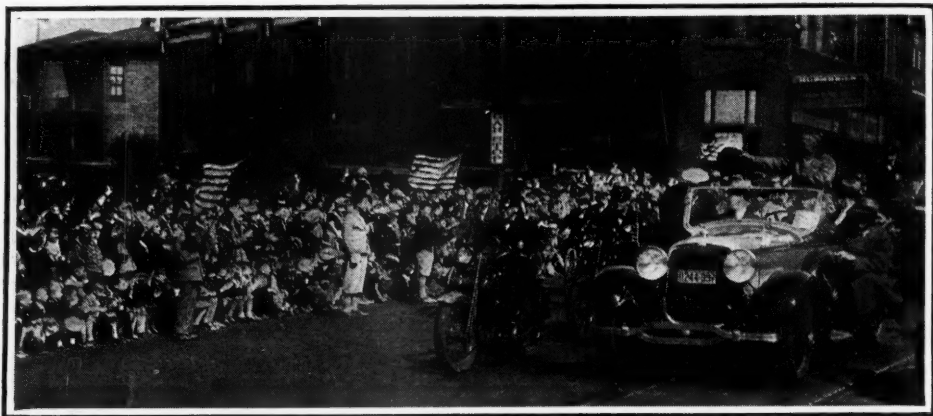
At Elizabethton, Tennessee, on October 6th Mr. Hoover delivered a notable oration, adapted to the times and to the locality. The South is undergoing great transformations; and, while remaining largely agricultural, its varied manufacturing industries are of tremendous importance. This region is now quite as dependent upon the policies that protect home markets for American wares as are New England, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The country is seemingly in no mood for a drastic overhauling of the present tariff system. In many respects the Underwood tariff was excellently worked out; and if Governor Smith made complimentary allusions to it at the outset of the campaign there is no reason to find fault. But he had been discovering, as the campaign went on, that there is no pressure of public opinion in any quarter that demands

a critical reconstruction of tariff schedules, with agricultural products back on the free list, and with reduced rates all along the line. Business adapts itself to tariff schedules, and political agitation for new rates, more favorable to foreign products, does not strike a responsive chord. Mr. Hoover's economic positions have strongly impressed Southern business men; and the tendency to support him is strong enough to have altered the Democratic plans of campaign.

*Gov. Smith's  
Second Tour  
in Dixie*

Thus it was decided, early in October, that Governor Smith should go to Southward again to make several speeches, and that he should appear in North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, in the hope that, by the strength of his personal popularity and his reassuring presentation of the tariff and other business topics, he might lift higher the wavering banners of Democracy in those parts. The Democratic organization is so complete and dominant throughout the South as a whole, that its resources for the present emergency are not likely to prove wholly insufficient. But there are qualities of great individual courage in the typical Southern men or women, when they are once determined to step out of the ruts of habit and convention.





MINNEAPOLIS SCHOOL CHILDREN GREETING GOVERNOR SMITH

The presidential nominees of the major political parties partake in large measure of the honor which attaches to the office of President of the United States. The respect and hospitality accorded them on campaign tours is a tribute to the office to which they aspire, quite as much as to their personalities.

Southern people who have decided for reasons of their own to vote for Hoover will not be brow-beaten or terrorized. Official Democrats, naturally, cling to party regularity. But the private citizen is not under similar restrictions on his political freedom of choice, and he will decide for himself.

*The Negro  
Friends of  
Gov. Smith*

It is possible that this year's campaign may help to eliminate the race question as a false and harmful party issue. Both parties are contending in New York, Chicago, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, especially in cities of the doubtful States, for the support of the increasing Negro vote. The Democrats have been making skilful use of certain common prejudices to win colored voters for Al Smith, with many evidences of marked success. When in localities a certain organization—let us say, the Ku Klux Klan—opposes Governor Smith because he belongs to the Catholic Church, while elsewhere the same organization assumes peculiar championship of the interests of the white race, it is easy to see how simultaneous resentment toward the methods of that organization might create a bond of sympathy that would bring many young Negroes to the standard of New York's Governor. If northern Negroes in great numbers, however, should join the Democratic party, it might be a little easier for southern white men to join the Republican party; and this, in its turn, would on many accounts be a good thing for both sections and both races.

*Race Issues  
Should be  
Localized*

The race question is not one that should henceforth appear as a bone of contention between the two great parties. Negroes, like men of other races or national origins, will find their best friends in the precise localities where they live. In the South, Negroes are now accorded rapidly improving educational and business opportunities. They will gain nothing at all valuable in their southern relationships from the professed solicitude of the Republican party of the North as such. Voting tests belong to the States; and it will be a fortunate time when nobody, whether white or black, is newly admitted to the privileges of the ballot except upon evidence that he is qualified by intelligence, industry and character. No one would disturb old voters; but new ones should be required to give the proof that they are excellent and competent citizens. If a good many northern Negroes vote the Democratic ticket on conviction, an increasing number of southern white voters may also find that the Republican party of to-day, like the Whig party of their grandfathers, best meets their views as regards questions of domestic and foreign policy. Such men and women could hardly do a better thing than to help build up a two-party system in the South, resolving that the one-party system has outlived reasons that once seemed to justify it. Mr. Hoover, with his unequalled grasp of economic problems, and with his understanding of southern sentiment on prohibition and other subjects, makes a powerful appeal.

*The Legion  
for Peace  
and Defenses*

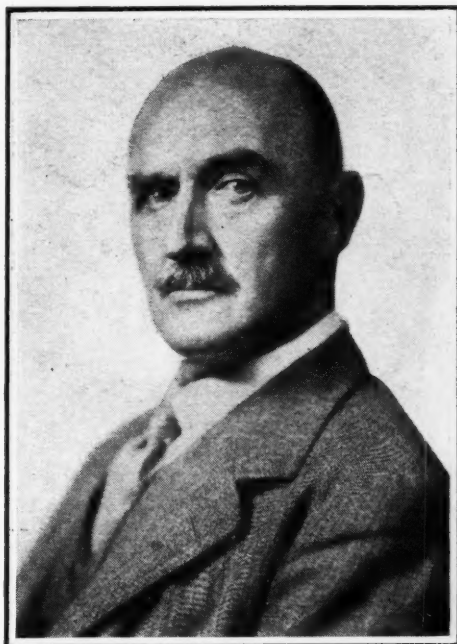
The American Legion has held its annual meeting at San Antonio, Texas, with a large attendance and much enthusiasm. It is well to note the fact that the Legion manifested its hearty approval of the multi-lateral treaty renouncing war. Secretary Dwight F. Davis of the War Department, speaking before the Legion, gave assurance that the Kellogg Treaty is not regarded by the Administration as a substitute for the army and navy. We shall continue to hold our trained services in high esteem, maintaining the academies at West Point and Annapolis, with full belief in the honorable callings for which they are training young men. Our army and our navy have many things to do besides the firing of guns at enemies. The peace policy of the United States is a definite thing, carefully considered, and not a matter merely of fine phrases. It will have to be supported for a long time to come by thoroughly adequate instruments of defense.

*Reasons  
for the  
Navy*

If we do not maintain our naval strength to the full limit of the ratios fixed by the Washington Conference, we shall be the ignominious cause of the breaking down of the disarmament principle. For the United States to abandon the plan of an efficient navy is to invite other Powers to assume armed supremacy of the seas. Such a course would amount to nothing at all in the end except adhesion to the old principles of force and selfish assertion. The United States cannot let it be known too clearly that we shall not ourselves seek supremacy at sea, and that we shall certainly not allow any other Power to achieve or to maintain such dominance. There should be unanimous support in Congress for the Pact of Paris, and at the same time a hearty and overwhelming support for our naval program.

*Allenby  
Visits  
America*

It was not untimely that a modest but heroic figure from across the Atlantic appeared as a British guest at this San Antonio meeting of the Legion. Field Marshal Allenby, who took Palestine away from the Turks, and who now bears up as best he can under the formidable title of Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and Felixstowe, had decided to make his first visit to this country, with no thought of ovations or official

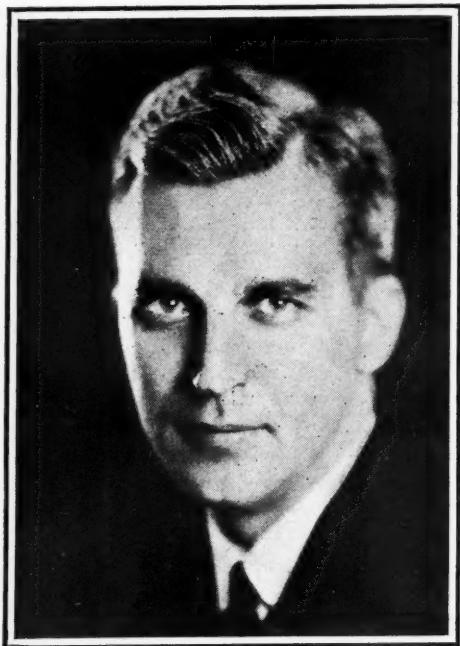


VISCOUNT ALLENBY, FIELD MARSHAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY DURING THE GREAT WAR, WHO HAS BEEN A GUEST OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

attentions. But it was enough that certain friends of his learned that he was coming. His arrival was marked by notable tributes in New York, and he was made a welcome guest of the Legion as he went to the Pacific Coast by way of Texas. Lord Allenby is a direct descendant of Oliver Cromwell. His military prowess is only exceeded by his genuine devotion to the cause of peace. "I hope," he declared, "that the move you here have made for peace [the Kellogg Pact] will grow into a faith which will do away with the miserable myth which we now have of ending disputes by cutting each other's throats. There is no reason why nations should be allowed to behave more brutally to each other than individuals are allowed to behave."

*Welcoming  
a French  
Hero*

Another visitor, less conspicuous than Allenby in the annals of war and the reconstruction of particular regions, but as worthy and as welcome as any possible guest, was also honored at the Legion Convention in San Antonio. This was Major Georges Scapini of the French Chamber of Deputies. He was blinded in the war, and is honored



COL. PAUL V. McNUTT

The new Commander of the American Legion, elected at the national convention in San Antonio, Texas, on October 11, is the Dean of the Law School of Indiana University. He served as a major of field artillery in the World War.

in France as a true hero. After the war he founded the Legion of the War Blind. He accompanied General Pershing to San Antonio, having come to America as the Legion's guest. He was the recipient of official and private attentions on his arrival in New York, and will visit many American cities before his return to France. In his admirable address, in good English, on October 10, Major Scapini told the assembled thousands of American service men at San Antonio that "it is our duty to instruct the generation which follows us in the horrors of war, to show them its absurdity, and to impress upon them so strongly what we ourselves have seen that they in turn will pass this on to those who follow them." It might be said that certain French and British soldiers seem to understand the spirit of the times better than members of the cabinets of their respective countries. Mr. Simonds this month discusses recent diplomatic maneuvers abroad with a bluntness that he believes the facts fully justify. But his strictures are far less severe than those of Liberal and Labor leaders and influential British newspapers.

#### *The Next British Election*

The political parties of Great Britain have been preparing with unusual deliberation for a contest at the polls that will presumably occur at some time within the next eight months, although the dates are not yet fixed. This British election is commanding world-wide attention long in advance. In the first place, there will be several million new voters, resulting from the passage of the so-called "Flapper Bill." Since this measure puts women in the same position as men, admitting to the ballot all single women and married women now deprived of their rights who are between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, it would seem a defect in the capacity of our British friends to use slang with easy flexibility when they designate women in their thirtieth year as "flappers." That strictly British word, ignorantly misapplied when imported to this country, had reference to originally girls of from twelve to fifteen. These new British first-voters, taken as a class, are better educated and trained than any other large comparable element of the British electorate. Naturally, the world looks on wondering what this Amazonian army will do to the inept and blundering government of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin.

#### *The Labor Party in Conference*

The Labor party held a conference at Birmingham early in October, that it regards as of historic importance in its career. No political movement in the world is more consistently led, from the intellectual standpoint, than this British Labor party. Its latest programs are set forth in an elaborate and carefully constructed document, dealing both with general views and with specific questions. Unemployment continues to be the most anxious of the situations with which Great Britain is confronted; and in view of the temptation to follow the lead of extreme Socialists it may be said that the party as a whole is showing moderation in surprising measure. The leadership of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was well vindicated in the Birmingham party conference.

#### *Mr. Baldwin's Supporters in Convention*

The national gathering of Tories was held at Yarmouth late in September. The Association of Conservative Clubs held its annual meeting, and this was followed on the next day by the Conference of the Conservative party. Five thousand representative Con-

servatives were at Yarmouth to listen to Premier Baldwin's address, which was regarded as the opening speech of the general election campaign. There was great pressure at Yarmouth to secure Tory approval of less rigid restrictions on the liquor traffic; but the convention was afraid of Lady Astor and of the new women voters, and so it dodged the subject. Still greater pressure was brought to bear to induce Mr. Baldwin to declare boldly for protective tariffs, and to make that issue the dominant one. But here again there was dodging and temporizing. The British Government has already gone a considerable way in the direction of protective rates of duty on imports, and undoubtedly the Conservatives are prepared to go still farther; but they wish to avoid campaign avowals that might disaffect those voters who still hold to England's traditional free-trade doctrine.

*The Premier's  
Claims to  
Support*

The Conservatives attack the Labor party as dangerously socialistic, while opposing the Liberals on the ground that they could have no prospects except through coalition with the Labor party led by Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Webb, and their associates. Every one respects Mr. Stanley Baldwin's high personal qualities, and patriotic devotion to the country's welfare. But it is admitted that he is of passive rather than active temperament, with a very small fraction of the driving force of a Lloyd George. Mr. Baldwin claimed in his address that the Tory government could win the next election on its record of achievement. He placed first the passage of the Widows, Orphans and Old Age Pensions Act. Next he cited the building of seven hundred thousand houses, within the period of his Premiership, out of one million built since the war. He elaborated upon progress in popular education; the bill for enfranchising women on equal terms with men; agricultural relief and local taxation measures, and, above all, the passing of the Trades Unions Act which "has laid forever the ghost of a general strike." He admitted the seriousness of the problem of unemployment, but hoped to accomplish much with the so-called "Empire Settlement Scheme" and by shifting superfluous coal-miners to other employment. With only four seats lost out of 412, Mr. Baldwin suggested that the party might stay in power for a hundred years.



**WELCOMING. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
FRENCH LEGION**

Major Georges Scapini, here welcomed on his arrival in New York by Mayor Walker, came to the United States as a special guest of the American Legion. Though blinded in the war, he serves as an influential member of the French Chamber of Deputies.

*Protective  
Duties  
Demanded*

"Another weapon we have is the Safeguarding Act," said Mr. Baldwin. American readers are not quite familiar with the sophistries by which our British friends like to avoid admitting their surrender to the protectionists. "Safeguarding" is simply the erection of a tariff schedule against foreign competition in some particular field of industry. "I want to make it clear," said Mr. Baldwin, "that the government does not intend to use the Safeguarding principle in a way to obtain a general tariff, before submitting the desirability of a tariff to the people for their vote." The Conference itself refused to cut out from the resolutions it adopted a phrase to the effect that the Conference regards as quite too slow the progress made in this matter of protective tariffs. Mr. Baldwin had recently refused, at the request of several hundred members of Parliament, to extend the Safeguarding Act to the iron and steel trades. The Conference overruled him, however, by declaring that the "earliest possible steps



should be taken to safeguard additional industries, especially iron and steel."

*Backing "Sir Austen!"* Mr. Baldwin paid a high tribute to his colleague, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Minister. "The whole country," he declared, "and all Europe realize the devotion, skill, and patience with which he has handled our foreign affairs for four years. With health renewed, I hope he will handle them four years more. At Lorcarno, in China and in Egypt, he has used conciliation, firmness, and resolution to protect the interests and sometimes the lives of our people, and he has constantly pursued the path of peace." Mr. Baldwin avoided the subject of arms limitation, and did not refer to the Franco-British naval agreement; but he sharply criticized the Liberal party for proposing to cut down Britain's immense bill for the maintenance of armies and navies. It would seem clear that international policies looking to disarmament are going to be far more dependent upon the result of the election in England than upon the election in the United States. Although foreign policies have not entered to any extent into our campaign discussions, there is little reason to believe that the Democrats would be less willing than the Republicans to further all sound movements for peace and disarmament. On the other hand, it is to be presumed that both parties will see the necessity of maintaining our defences, and particularly of developing naval power to a full parity with that of any other government.

*Liberals in Aggressive Mood* The once dominant Liberal party has in recent years been trailing far behind the Labor party in point of membership in the House of Commons. When a party thus diminished is further enfeebled by bitter factional rivalry its influence becomes almost paralyzed. But Mr. Lloyd George is now in full command; and he was in his best fighting manner at the Liberal party's annual Conference on October 12 at Great Yarmouth. He called the Anglo-French naval compromise "the most sinister event since the war." He encouraged his followers to believe in the rapid revival of the party of Gladstone and Asquith. He associated English Liberalism with the political tone and spirit of the Middle West of the United States. He declared that it was the

duty of the Allies to get out of the German Rhineland, and also to make sweeping cuts in their military expenditures. He predicted an overwhelming majority of votes in condemnation of the present British Government, but avoided any appearance of inviting coalition with the Labor forces. His attacks upon the foreign policy of the Baldwin Cabinet were prophetic of the bitter campaign that will be fought when the election date of next spring or early summer is determined.

*Applying the Golden Rule*

The officers and trustees of the Near East Relief are engaged in a final effort to bring their great and useful work to a fitting conclusion. They have been well supported by the American public, and they can give a good account of their stewardship. At this time of year, their cause is widely advertised through the setting apart of Golden Rule Sunday, with its appeals for the children of the races and peoples clustered about the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. With the favorable responses that may well be expected, the agents of Near East Relief will soon have in hand enough money to provide properly for the orphans that are still under their care. The Golden Rule principle, however, as it has impressed itself upon the people of the United States, is by no means exhausted in its application to the well-being of children in these ancient lands of the Near East. Far from having a diminished responsibility, the American people, by the very fact of their prosperity and their widening interests, are awakening to new opportunities for the application of the principle of human brotherhood to the less fortunate children of other peoples, some of whom are our fellow-citizens. The tragic disaster that has overtaken Porto Rico furnishes a case in hand. Similarly, there are conditions in the Philippines that might well be surveyed by some of the experienced members of the field staff of Near East Relief. Childhood in Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, also presents its opportunity for helpfulness to the friends of child welfare in the United States. This paragraph is not meant to suggest anything ostentatious or patronizing. We are merely calling attention to some definite areas where a goodwill movement, based upon the principle of the Golden Rule, might be timely, and would surely be welcomed and appreciated.



# A Record of Current Events

FROM SEPTEMBER 17 TO OCTOBER 15, 1928

## THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

September 27.—Mr. Hoover opens his eastern campaign with a speech on labor and industry at Newark, N. J.

September 18.—Governor Smith, in a speech at Omaha, advocates the principle of farm relief, but fails to mention the equalization fee proposed in Congress by Haugen and McNary.

September 22.—The Anti-Saloon League formally endorses Mr. Hoover's candidacy, the first time it has ever tendered its active support to a presidential nominee.

September 28.—Mr. Hoover repudiates anti-Catholic intolerance in a statement from Washington, D. C.

September 29.—Governor Smith, in his final western campaign speech at Milwaukee, assails federal prohibition and blames the Republicans for its failure.

October 3.—Charles Lindbergh, America's premier aviator, gives his support to Mr. Hoover's candidacy.

October 4.—It is announced that the Repub-

lican National Committee collected \$1,074,870 for the campaign during September.

October 5.—The Democratic campaign fund collected during September is stated to be \$876,420.

October 6.—Mr. Hoover speaks at Elizabethton, Tennessee, on water power, immigration, farm aid, prohibition, and the tariff.

October 8.—Mr. Hoover approves the Government's Muscle Shoals project in Alabama, thus amplifying his Elizabethton speech.

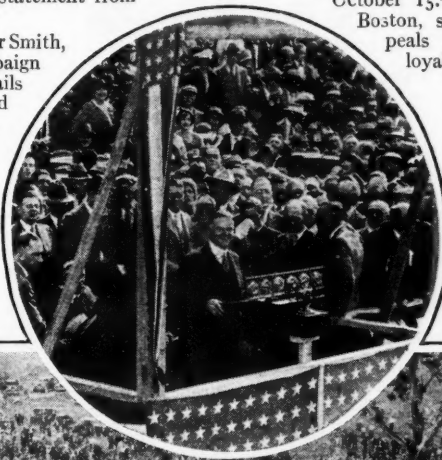
October 10.—Governor Smith departs on a ten-day tour of the upper South and of several Mid-Western States.

October 15.—Mr. Hoover, speaking at Boston, stresses the tariff as he appeals to Massachusetts' party loyalty in the present campaign.

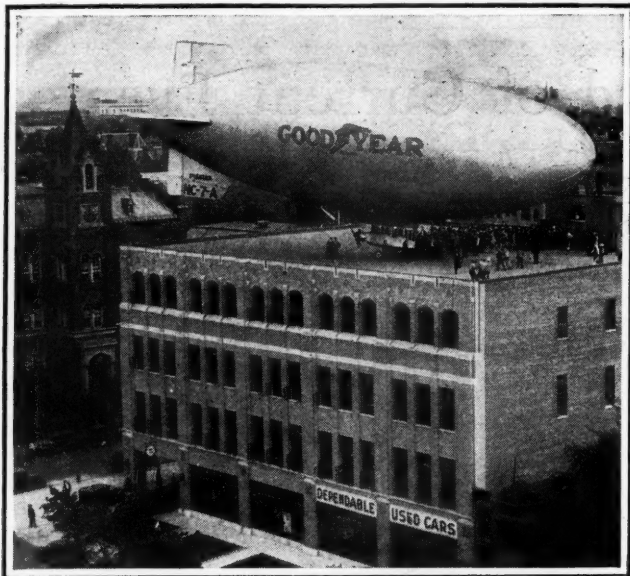
## FOREIGN POLITICS

September 25.—Emilio Portes Gil is unanimously chosen Provisional President of Mexico by its Congress, to take office December 1.

October 7.—Andorra, tiny republic in the Pyrenees mountains, is



MR. HOOVER SPEAKS TO AN AUDIENCE OF EASTERN TENNESSEE CITIZENS AT ELIZABETH-TON, ON OCTOBER 6



#### A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE?

The smallest dirigible alights on the roof of a building in Washington, D. C., on October 5. Such things may be every-day occurrences soon.

purchased by French financiers, who plan to turn it into a second Monte Carlo.

October 9.—Chiang Kai-shek, Nationalist general, is elected President of the new Chinese Republic by its Central Executive Council.

October 12.—Hipolito Irigoyen is inaugurated as President of the Argentine Republic for the second time, his first term having ended six years ago.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 23.—A treaty of friendship and conciliation between Italy and Greece is signed by Premiers Mussolini and Venizelos.

September 28.—The United States rejects the Franco-British naval limitation agreement, proposed as a basis of international accord, in identical notes to London and Paris.

September 30.—Premier Poincaré says that Germany must pay French war debts plus funds for reconstruction, in a speech at Chambéry.

October 2.—President Coolidge announces that the war debts owed to America can not be associated with the German reparations question, and that any such suggestion is unacceptable.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES

September 17.—A West Indian hurricane sweeps northeast along the Florida coast, causing 2,000 deaths and great destruction; Guadeloupe and the Virgin Islands also suffer damage.

September 18.—A Spaniard, Juan de la Cierva, makes a London-to-Paris flight in a helicopter airplane—an innovation in aviation.

September 28.—Yosuhito, Prince Chichibu, Japanese Crown Prince, weds Miss Setsuko Matsu-daira, daughter of a former ambassador at Wash- ington.

October 6.—The United States defeats the Argentine Republic at polo, two games to one, by winning the final game in the international series at Westbury, Long Island.

October 9.—The New York "Yankees" win the World's Series in baseball, defeating the St. Louis "Cardinals" for the fourth consecutive time.

October 12.—The French Ministry of Marine learns that the submarine *Ondine* was sunk on October 3, after a collision with a Greek steamer off the Portuguese coast in which the submarine's entire crew of forty-three men was lost.

October 15.—The German passenger-carrying dirigible *Graf Zeppelin* arrives at Lakehurst, New Jersey, after a flight from Friedrichshafen that began on October 11; a damaged stabilizer and inclement weather caused a slower and lengthier trip than had been anticipated.

#### OBITUARY

September 18.—John George Lambton, third Earl of Durham, English sportsman, 73.

September 21.—Baron Jean de Neufville, dean of the Regents of the Bank of France, 78.

September 23.—Sir Horace Darwin, English inventor and son of the famous scientist, Charles Darwin, 77.

September 25.—Richard F. Outcault, pioneer in newspaper comic supplements, creator of the "Yellow Kid" and "Buster Brown," 65.

September 26.—Col. Frederick Vaughan Abbot, prominent army engineer and war worker, 70.

September 27.—John Albert Tiffin Hull, former Congressman from Iowa and ex-chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, 87.

September 28.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Wright Miner, U. S. A., retired, and Civil War veteran, 88.

September 29.—Brig.-Gen. William H. Bixby, ex-chief of U. S. Army Engineers and an expert on Mississippi flood control, 79.

September 30.—Rev. Francis C. Monfort, Cincinnati editor, 84.

October 2.—Clarence W. Barron, publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, 73. . . . August F. Seested, president of the *Kansas City Star*, 64.

October 8.—Larry Semon, motion-picture comedian, 39.

October 9.—Prof. William A. Speck, Yale librarian and authority on Goethe.

October 12.—Mrs. Augusta E. Stetson, for more than forty years a leader in Christian Science, 87. . . . Juan O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, Spanish Minister of War, 64.

October 13.—Marie, former Dowager Empress of Russia, 80.

# Politics and Peace

## *Cartoon Sidelights on the Presidential Campaign and the Kellogg Treaty*



WHAT A GRAND AND GLORIOUS FEELING!

By Berryman, in the *Evening Star* (Washington)



RELIEF—TAMMANY STYLE

By Gale, in the *Times* (Los Angeles)



THE STAR PUPIL

By Weed, in the *Evening World* (New York)

**CONSPICUOUS BY THEIR ABSENCE**By Sykes, in the *Evening Post* (New York)**THE MIRAGE**By Darling, in the *Register* (Des Moines, Iowa)

As the political campaign draws to a close we find that the cartoonist has exercised—mildly! as a rule—his privilege of lampooning. Rarely does he draw upon his skill to extol the virtues of the man of his own choice, finding it more to his liking to hold the opposing candidate up for criticism.

**IS THIS THE HOOVER IDEA OF RELIEF FOR THE FARMER?**By Spencer, in the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Nebraska)**DOWN IN THE CORN FIELD, HEAR THAT MOURNFUL SOUND**By Bronstrup, in the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)





#### LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG

From the *Western Mail and South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)

[This British paper adds that "despite recent assurances that the secret Anglo-French naval agreement had been abandoned, it has reappeared as full of life as ever."]



#### BUT WHY JUMP?

By Hanny, in the *Inquirer* © (Philadelphia)

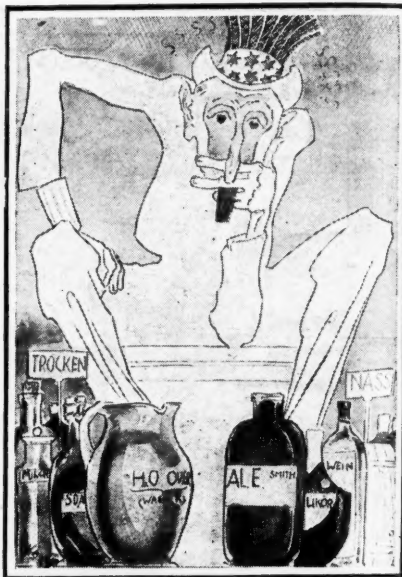


#### ASKING A GREAT DEAL

By Brown, in the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)



A PUNCHING CONTEST FOR THE PRESIDENCY

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

WINE OR NO WINE; THAT IS THE QUESTION

From *Ulk* (Berlin)

## AS GERMANY SEES OUR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Interest in the American presidential campaign, with its accompanying volleys of charges and counter-charges by Wets and Drys, is manifested by many European cartoons—especially in the German and Italian comic papers which devote considerable space to the subject. Even in the above boxing lampoon, originally in color, Governor Smith is bedecked with a symbolically red nose while Mr. Hoover appears pompously virtuous. Such topics as the Kellogg Pact, King Zogu of Albania, the Anglo-French naval agreement, and occurrences within the League of Nations are not neglected in current foreign cartoons.



AN ITALIAN VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

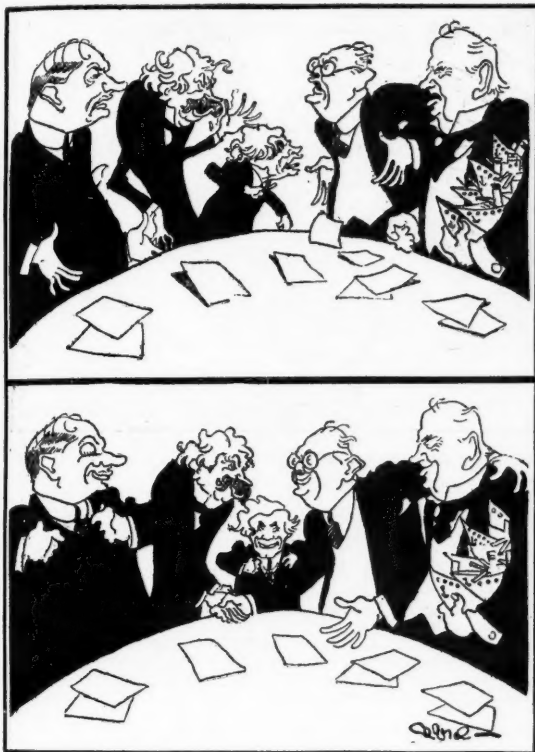
Senator Curtis, a "dry," recalls that alcohol helped to exterminate his Indian ancestors.

From *Il Travaso* (Rome)

BRIAND'S SPEECH AT GENEVA

THE FRENCH MARIANNE (to the German Michel): "Come, come, friend! Not so familiar! Things are not settled yet."

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



#### AT GENEVA: AGREEMENT ON ONE POINT

Evacuation of the Rhine, disarmament, war debts—nothing but discord. On the question of excluding the Soviets—complete harmony.

From *l'Humanité* (Paris, France)

The French cartoon above is from a Communist organ favorable to the Russian Government; while below a Bolshevik paper shows respect for the power and promptness of the American mailed fist which shatters the concord of the trans-Channel neighbors. The new King of Albania is often called a mere pawn of the omnipotent Il Duce, as the German artist indicates.



#### THE MUSSOLINI INFLUENCE IN ALBANIA

"We, Zogu, by the grace of God, King of Albania!"

From *Jugend* (Munich, Germany)



#### England and France in Agreement

#### THE ANGLO-FRENCH NAVAL AGREEMENT

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)



#### America Expresses Its Opinion



### THE RETURN OF MR. KELLOGG

UNCLE SAM: "Bravo! I am delighted at your efforts to secure world peace!"

From *Guerin Meschino* (Milan, Italy)

The treaty renouncing and condemning war has been brought back from Paris by Secretary Kellogg for presentation to the Senate in December. Various viewpoints are reflected in the foreign cartoons reproduced in these pages; but it is to be noted that in no case is it intimated that the treaty may fail in its purpose. Such cartoons as seem to be unfriendly to the treaty usually express doubt that real peace can come to a world still armed, or that Uncle Sam is sincere in his latest move to end war forever. The Japanese cartoon, below, is exceptionally lofty in its spirit. The London sketch on the opposite page displays a feeling of European dependence on American efforts to insure lasting law and order. The rooster-headed gentleman in the Viennese cartoon is "Herr Kikeriki"—the publication's symbolic figure—for "kikeriki" has the same significance as the English "cock-a-doodle-doo."



### LET US BELIEVE IN IT TO THE END

(The Kellogg treaty renouncing war)

From *Miyako* (Tokyo, Japan)



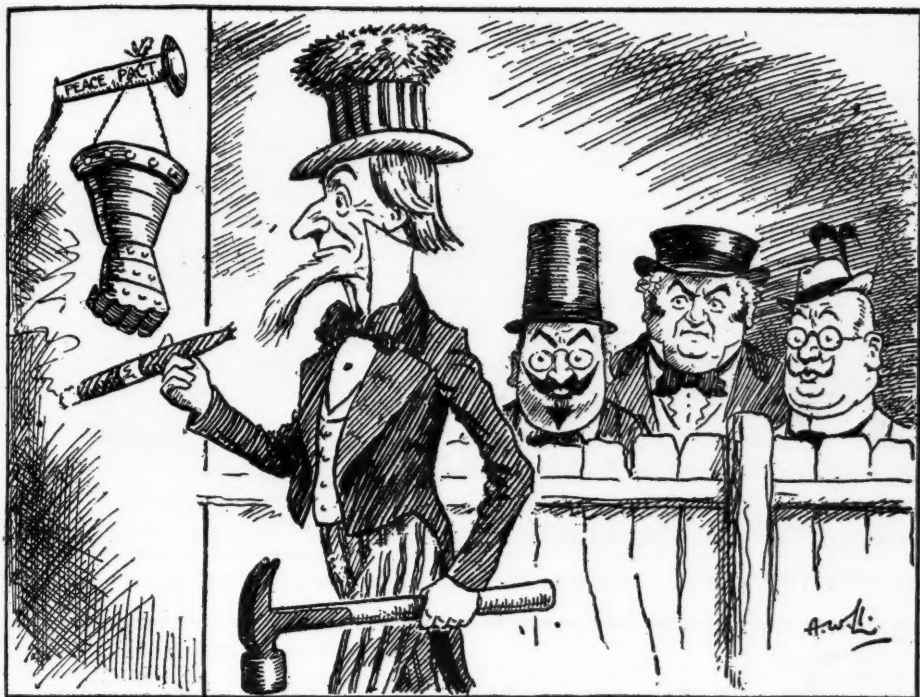
### THE PEACE ANGEL RETURNS FROM PARIS

"What a state you are in!"

"Yes, I was in Paris, and they plucked my feathers for pens with which to sign the anti-war pact."

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)





#### HANGING UP THE MAILED FIST

FRANCE AND GERMANY: "Will that nail be strong enough?"

ENGLAND (in the rear): "It all depends upon the man with the hammer."

From *News of the World* (London)



"The Anglo-French agreement was only a preparation of the ground for the next Conference on Naval Disarmament." THE EXPLANATION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

#### "WE ARE ONLY PREPARING THE GROUND, MR. KELLOGG"

(The spokesman is Lord Cusheadun of the British Foreign office, the other digger being Foreign Minister Briand of France.)  
From the *Evening Standard* (London)



IN THE INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND 90 PER CENT. OF THE HOMES WERE BLOWN TO PIECES

# The Porto Rican Hurricane

BY ELIZABETH K. VAN DEUSEN

"WIND reaching the incredible velocity of 150 miles an hour on Thursday, September 13, and rainfall to the depth of 39 inches from Wednesday night to Friday noon, September 14, 1928."

Such, in brief, was the tropical hurricane which devastated the American island of Porto Rico, so lovely with its climate of eternal June, its azure waters, its palm-fringed, fertile coastlands, its gentle green-clad hills and lofty blue mountains that it was known to everyone as the Isle of Enchantment.

Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493 and colonized by Spaniards, Porto Rico had already known nearly four centuries of civilization when it passed under the American régime in 1898. Three-fourths of the approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants, now citizens of the United States, are white, mostly of Spanish descent. Under the Stars and Stripes the island has enjoyed thirty years of increasing progress.

480

Over two thousand schools have been established where none stood before, and in them has been created a bi-lingual people; there also has illiteracy been reduced from 85 per cent. to less than 40. Nearly fifteen hundred miles of macadamized roads have replaced crude trails and entered entirely isolated territory, until every town in the island can now be reached by automobile. Trolley cars, telephones, telegraph, and radio, sanitation, large docks and warehouses, modern dwellings, business establishments, and public buildings are but a few reasons why Porto Rico has earned the right to be known as an up-to-date and progressive community.

The island was enjoying its most prosperous era when swept by the hurricane. External trade increased from \$16,602,004 in 1900 to \$195,883,139 in the fiscal year ending June 30, last. Shipments to the United States increased from \$3,350,577 in 1900 to \$96,662,619 in 1928, and purchases

from the United States increased from \$6,592,114 to \$79,743,088, thus giving Porto Rico a \$16,818,931 balance of trade with the mainland.

### *Then Came the Storm*

In this hopeful hour the hurricane descended, terrorized the people, laid waste their country, and passed on, leaving the island in the temporary grip of a kind of hysteria out of which rose one cryptic and graphic word—*flat*! In the first hours it seemed to the stricken populace that everything was flat. They could not see the buildings that were standing, for looking at the ones that were leveled. If a roof was off, the whole edifice was reported "flat." Wires and radio towers being down, and débris beyond description blocking all the streets and roads, communication itself was "flat." Each community, horrified at its own fate and cut off from all others, could imagine only the worst. Hence there sprang into being unfounded reports that whole towns and all crops were "flat." Lack of water, light, and power added to the misery, while vague and terrifying rumors of rioting, famine, pestilence, and death rose out of the confusion.

In the midst of such wild turmoil it was vitally essential that some people should remain calm enough to ascertain, if possible, the true extent of the disaster and the necessary means for prompt relief.

By afternoon of the day following the hurricane, the Governor of Porto Rico, Hon. Horace M. Towner, had cabled to Washington asking for immediate aid for Porto Rico. He called a hasty meeting of his cabinet, instructing each head of a department to order an immediate survey in his particular field.

On foot and on horseback, couriers at once set forth: From the Department of the Interior went men with instructions for each of the road-menders—who still, according to an old Spanish custom, live at intervals of two miles along every road in Porto Rico—to hire all available men and clear the highways of the wreckage and landslides which made them utterly impassable for all vehicles. From the Department of Health went sanitation inspectors armed with first aid for the ill and injured, and to open emergency health stations in every town. From the Department of Education went the school inspectors to ascertain the welfare of teachers,

the condition of schools, and to collect statistics for use by central relief workers. And from the Department of Agriculture went trained men to learn the sad fate of the crops—Porto Rico's chief means of livelihood. The Porto Rican Chapter of the American Red Cross began to function almost before the storm was over, organizing relief stations and making a preliminary survey of the damage.

The Governor summoned leading citizens to a meeting where at a Central Relief Committee was appointed which began instantly to function. An emergency governmental cash loan of \$60,000 was obtained from the banks for immediate distribution in the stricken municipalities of the island for the purchase of necessities, because it was impossible for relief supplies to arrive from the United States for several days.

While many of the first rumors proved fantastic, the truth is terrible enough, it would seem, to satisfy the most lurid taste for human woe!

### *Half a Million Destitute*

Henry M. Baker, National Director of Disaster Relief of the American Red Cross, arrived from Washington with his assistants within the brief space of three days after he was summoned. He conservatively estimated that not less than half a million persons were left destitute by the hurricane; and although there is no definite information on the exact number of buildings destroyed and damaged, it is known that they will run into the thousands. The large majority of the stricken inhabitants are poor people. They need not only the immediate relief given by the American Red Cross, but will also require assistance in rebuilding their homes and getting back on their feet.

Red Cross officials here in Porto Rico report that their organization has under its care almost twice as many sufferers from the hurricane as it ever had at any one time as the result of the Mississippi flood. During that relief work the highest number of refugees under the organization's care at any one time was approximately 300,000.

The magnitude of the present task is indicated by the fact that within two weeks after the disaster the Red Cross had distributed 1,500,000 rations, 10,000 blankets and nearly 5,000 cots in addition to truck loads of medical supplies. An average of about 300 tons of food was being used each

day. Seventy-five thousand new garments have been distributed and orders placed for 175,000 more, besides enormous quantities of second-hand clothing and thousands of yards of raw materials. It is costing the Red Cross \$30,000 a day as this article is mailed, in October, to distribute over the island sufficient food to prevent hunger and possible starvation. This mass-feeding will have to continue for some time—until homes can be repaired and new crops come in to furnish means of subsistence. The furnishing of building material has begun, and the organization has placed orders for a million feet of lumber. This represents but a beginning. Hundreds of millions of feet of lumber will be required before Porto Rico is rebuilt.

Mr. Baker has directed relief operations following approximately one hundred and fifty disasters, yet he states that he has never seen such tremendous need for relief.

In the three weeks following the hurricane, relief occupied the place of first importance in the island. General rehabilitation—the wholesale rebuilding of the 90 per cent. of rural homes which were lost, and the general resuscitation of farming—was scarcely started.

Already the American Red Cross has



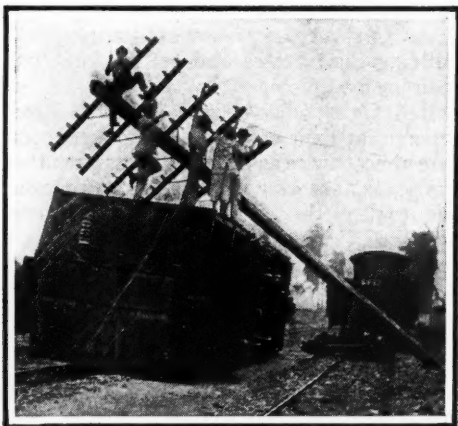
ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEALS A DAY WERE DISTRIBUTED

saved Porto Rico from a fate too terrible to imagine; upon it, too, are placed all hopes for the coming months. Porto Rico has always helped herself, and she would gladly do so now—but the hurricane simply left her *nothing* with which to do it.

#### Death and Sickness

The Insular Police report a total of 261 deaths due to the hurricane. In view of the extent of the disaster, this loss of life, which possibly will reach 300, may appear small, but it is explained by several facts. Through the agency of the Insular Police, a superior body of trained and efficient men, under central authority, hurricane warnings were circulated in every town, so that the people had time to seek refuge in comparatively safe structures. The full fury of the wind did not come all at once; its velocity rose in a continuous crescendo until it reached its maximum force of 150 miles an hour. That this happened during daylight hours allowed people to avoid dangers which would have been fatal during the night. As to the country folk, it is said that they have a warning and practice of their own. "When the hurricane comes," they say, "lie down on the ground in a clear space." Most of the deaths occurred from flying debris, drowning in swollen streams, and suffocation or injury under fallen buildings.

More essential than mourning the dead is caring for the wounded and ill. Those injured in the hurricane number approximately 1,100. Many hundreds of the homeless have been suffering from a mild form of



THIS FREIGHT-CAR LOST OUT IN ITS STRUGGLE WITH A WIND OF 150 MILES PER HOUR



grippe, though at no place, except Guayama may there be said to be an actual epidemic. That contingency was prevented by the providential cessation of rain the day following the storm, and by the prompt measures taken in establishing emergency hospitals and rushing medicines to those afflicted. The Red Cross is working in co-operation with the United States Public Health officials and the Porto Rican Department of Health. Malaria has been rather widespread, but the daily official health bulletins show a marked decrease in this disease, owing to the prompt measures taken in epidemic areas by the Insular Bureau of Malaria Control, and to the wholesale distribution of quinine.

Though a typhoid epidemic was feared, none has broken out. Such cases as there are have been isolated promptly and the citizens of the community vaccinated. The cleaning-up of towns has been completed and careful attention is being given the water supply, especially at Coamo and Juana Diaz where the situation is serious due to damaged aqueducts.

What is now necessary is an abundance of medicines and hospital supplies, and a large medical and nursing staff to care for those already ill and to prevent their maladies from being transmitted.

#### *Damage to Public Buildings*

While the loss of life was comparatively small, the loss of property is almost beyond computation, and will certainly be ultimately counted by tens of millions.

The hurricane cut a swathe diagonally across the entire island. The center was hardest hit, the north and south coasts suffering only a trifle less. All streets and roads were blocked and damaged by the storm. The expense of clearing away the trees and landslides and repairing the washouts on the insular highways will cost the Government about \$250,000. Five days after the storm 99 per cent. of the municipalities could be reached by automobile, which speaks praise for the tremendous efforts of the workmen.

Government buildings were damaged to the extent of \$400,000. The first repair was to such institutions as were devoted to housing the sick and poor. The old insane asylum in San Juan was unroofed, likewise the Charity Schools for boys and girls. These were promptly mended. The new Insular Insane Asylum, which is consid-

ered one of the finest in the world, and which would shortly have been occupied, suffered damages amounting to \$32,000. At the Leper Colony, the small individual cottages, which house about sixty of these unfortunates, were so damaged that their inmates sought refuge for two days in the large Administration Building. This deplorable condition was quickly remedied. Likewise at the Tubercular Sanatorium, roofs were carried away and the beautiful gardens completely wrecked.

Within three days following the storm all damaged government offices were sufficiently in order to carry on business, but permanent repairs have not yet been made.

The Insular Telegraph system will have to be totally reconstructed. It reached every town, and suffered \$100,000 losses. The Guayama and Isabela Irrigation Services were damaged respectively to the amount of \$75,000 and \$15,000.

The Department of the Interior estimates its total losses at above \$1,000,000.

#### *One-fourth the Schoolrooms Destroyed*

When the Americans landed in Porto Rico in 1898, there was in operation a desultory system of public instruction, nominally gratuitous and obligatory. There were over 322,000 children of school age, about 8 per cent. of whom were enrolled in school. There was no supervision; classes were held in the teacher's house, for which he received rent in addition to salary. Ninety-nine per cent. of the instruction was elementary in the extreme, so much so that pupils in school were little better off than those not enrolled. The poor people were anemic and ignorant. The wealthy were aristocratic and averse to general education. There was not a single structure in the island built primarily for a school.

The Americans wished to imbue the Porto Ricans with their own cherished principles of democracy. They desired them to be a bi-lingual people who could develop and conduct a modern country. This meant the building of a new and vast system of public instruction with all its contingent expense. After thirty years hard work it was very near to complete realization.

When the hurricane struck Porto Rico the thirtieth school year under the Stars and Stripes was but two short weeks under way. In the year 1927 nearly 38 per cent. of the insular budget was spent for education. This was by far the largest budgetary



SALVAGING WHAT IS LEFT OF THE LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PORTO RICO

appropriation, the next being the 11.14 per cent. appropriated to the Department of the Interior for roads and public works. With additional funds spent by municipalities, the total expenditures for educational purposes were nearly \$6,000,000. There were 2,144 school buildings in the island, representing 4,470 classrooms. The enrollment was 220,940.

The hurricane spared no town or rural district in the damage to schools. Two towns in the island suffered total destruction of their schools, Yabucoa and Barranquitas. In several others all of the buildings were either totally or partially destroyed. For example, Humacao lost thirty-three rooms entirely and suffered the partial destruction of the remaining eighteen. The rural schools sustained an even more cruel loss, 817 rooms being utterly wrecked and 660 partly so. In the entire island, 1,027 rooms were destroyed and 1,281 were partially ruined. The total estimated public-school losses are \$2,464,950.

#### *The Children Return to School*

Even so, the monetary loss to a government scarcely approximates that suffered intellectually by children if they are denied the privileges of education! Both parents and children in Porto Rico beg that schools be kept going at any sacrifice and under any conditions.

The most astounding development since the storm is that, as early as the Monday after the terrible *ciclón*, classes were held

in many towns, and within three weeks 90 per cent. of the school work was again in operation. Nothing is more heartening to a disorganized community than to see its children flocking happily to school.

There is something of profound wonder and deep pathos in the way the schools of Porto Rico are running. With over half of them in complete or partial ruin, and with 242 of the remainder housing the sick and homeless, classes in a great majority of districts are being held under temporary shelters, on front porches, in any available rented buildings, in private homes, and in the open, as well as in many roofless school-houses. In some localities books and papers were simply blown away; and many a lesson will be learned during the coming year in Porto Rico from pages yellow-streaked by rain-water. In some places only the teacher will have a book for months to come. What an amount of patience she will have to show, what a fund of ingenuity she must develop to draw upon during irksome hours! Wherever a school is in session, though the edifice be unrecognizable as such, one may know it by the flag, waving from some improvised pole or fastened to a half-broken branch. In spirit and in deed are these Porto Rican children young Americans!

The loss of crops in the hurricane is now estimated at \$47,100,000. This, it is believed, will be increased to about \$75,000,000 by the damage to private and public property. Available reports place all hurricane insurance at about \$20,000,000.

Minor crops were practically wiped out, with the exception of roots and tubers, the latter consisting mainly of yams and *yautias*—a tropical plant. Thus in a day the subsistence of the country people was annihilated. These minor crops were native fruits, plantains, bananas, breadfruit, vegetables, and other products of the soil. Many animals were killed and fowls were swept away.

#### *Sugar Loss: Three Hundred Million Pounds*

Sugar is the island's main crop. During the fiscal year ending June 30, last, 1,211,076,000 pounds of sugar, raw and refined, valued at \$54,596,764, were shipped from Porto Rico to the United States. The storm caught the island with this year's crop half-grown. The young cane is pliable and was not yet standing high. For this reason, though the wind leveled much of it, it was not broken off to any great extent; already it is rising again. At Loiza the damage to the cane was considerable, owing to the flooding of the Loiza River. The cane stood under water for several days.

Apparently about 300,000,000 pounds are lost, representing approximately a fourth of the crop and worth \$12,000,000.

The sugar mills, being lofty structures, for the most part constructed of corrugated iron, and with tall smokestacks, were targets for the wind. They suffered about a 30 per cent. loss, which is fortunately covered by insurance. Some of the worst struck were at Maunabo, Juncos, Bayamón, Río Piedras, Caguas, Manatí, and Loiza. The three largest mills—Guánica and Aguirre on the south coast, and Fajardo on the east—were not badly damaged. In most cases the machinery was not considerably harmed. Repairs to the damaged mills will take several months, probably somewhat delaying the grinding season which normally begins in December.

#### *Tobacco and Fruit*

Tobacco suffered most in the central region about Caguas, Cayey, and Aibonito, where practically all of the storage barns containing last year's crop were blown down. The seed-beds were almost entirely destroyed but can be replanted. Luckily there was no crop just ready for harvest. Thirty per cent. of the tobacco in warehouses was lost through water entering after the roofs had been blown off. In San Juan the cigar and cigaret factories are

operating at full time. It is in the hills, where so many people were left homeless, that the loss is felt.

To the tobacco of last year's crop, to seed beds and to barns, the total damage is said to be \$3,500,000.

To see any citrus fruit in Porto Rico to-day, one must not look upon the trees, but upon the ground. The vast groves, which cover about six thousand acres, are literally carpeted with nearly ripe oranges and grapefruit! With this tragic carpet representing a loss of 1,450,000 boxes of fruit, with a net value to growers of about \$2,900,000, the fruit farmers can still thank some blessed fate which spared them 90 per cent. of their trees! Human faith is strengthened when one breathes in the fragrant scent of the orange blossoms already blooming on many trees, beneath which still lies the lost crop of last year's blossoms. The pineapple harvest, valued at \$1,200,000, was ruthlessly slashed in half. Many packing-houses and barns, laborers' homes, and the residences of growers were literally razed.

To cut a tragic story short, the Fruit Growers' Association announces that the losses of the citrus fruit industry total \$5,290,000.

#### *Coffee Damage Greatest*

Coffee fared the worst of all. It sustained an 80 per cent. loss not only of crops, but nearly a 70 per cent. destruction of plantations! Thirty years ago coffee was Porto Rico's most important export. Then on that tragic August 8, 1899, a hurricane, of similar violence to the recent one, devastated the coffee areas to such an extent that they never regained their former position of supremacy. The owners have spent the ensuing years restoring their groves. This year's was to have been the bumper crop since 1899. Then came a tempest even worse than before and wiped away ten million dollars' worth of coffee, and, not satisfied, destroyed plantation buildings, coffee trees, and the large trees which shaded them and are absolutely essential to their growth. It has taken many of those big trees a quarter of a century and more to grow; it takes coffee trees five years.

The plantation losses are given out as \$15,000,000, making a total loss of \$25,000,000 for the coffee growers to sustain. Their insurance amounted to between four and five millions, but this was mostly on

the coffee and shade trees, not more than \$300,000 being upon this year's crop.

If over the beautiful mountains, whose sides were covered by the dark green plantations, there had passed a giant reaper, followed by a deadly wave of poison gas, the coffee country could not look more brown and sere and desolate.

The statement suggests a battlefield, and a battlefield suggests the coconut groves of Porto Rico as they appear to-day. Though the loss to crop and trees is estimated at a million and a half dollars, there seems something almost sacrilegious in mentioning money in connection with Porto Rico's lovely palms, which made the place a paradise for man. Graceful they were, and always rustling. They leaned over the surf-swept shores, and glistened under the sun and moon. Now three-fourths of them are gone. In the once fair groves they lie in rows like bodies of the dead upon a field of carnage, and the scraggly, tortured trees which yet remain, bend and sway and sigh above them, like war-worn soldiers, lamenting the untimely fall of their comrades.

#### *"Business as Usual" in San Juan*

The capital city of San Juan is now a travesty of its former beauty, despoiled of the innumerable trees and flowers which made it so delightful. But the newcomer would undoubtedly not see wherein the hurricane had affected it, for all débris has been cleared away, practically all houses and buildings have been repaired. The city appears and is practically normal. Most of the towns on the island, except those worst hit, bear the same semblance of normality. Such poor homes as were only damaged have been patched. "The sound of the hammer is heard in the land."

But Barranquitas and Yabucoa, Las Piedras and Coamo, and a few others look for all the world as though they had been shelled by giant guns, patiently, long, and well. The United States military barracks and officers' quarters at Cayey were reduced to heaps of rubbish.

Business is going on as usual and the banks are normal. Their experts are working day and night to devise means to aid the farmers. There is everywhere the highest morale, and throughout the island one may still receive a smile in return for a smile. There have not at any time been riots or disturbances of any kind. The people are patient, cheerful, and hopeful

even in the midst of their suffering—the writer has proved this by repeated visits into the worst areas. But having raised this hope in them, they who are trying to help must not, dare not fail in fulfilment, else there follow demoralization and despair.

#### *A Future Far From Bright*

It is the vast interior of the island which lies stricken, with nearly 90 per cent. of the tiny homes blown to pieces. One does not see the people. Where are they? They are living—as many as seven families—in the home of some kindly neighbor, scarcely more fortunate than themselves. From the ground they are able to dig a few sweet potatoes. But this is not sufficient. Daily the men must walk weary miles—often twelve and fifteen—up hill and down, to the towns where they receive provisions, and then turn for the even more weary walk home again to wife and children and friends. The benevolent Red Cross is fast alleviating even this hardship, devising means to distribute food to the people in these remote regions. And through the pall of brown which overspread the land, after all foliage was seared by the mighty wind, now are pushing green buds! For Porto Rico is, after all, a kindly land—it seems as if by means of these first green leaves, and by the lovely pink blossoms which have burst forth on the half-shattered *roble* trees, she is trying to tell her children that it will not be long before tropical plenty reigns again among them.

The Porto Rican hurricane was one of the worst peace-time disasters. What averted an inestimable calamity was the immediate arrival of the Red Cross relief; and what makes the present situation endurable is the complete coöperation existing among all actions—the Insular Government, the American Red Cross, the 65th Regiment of Infantry, and the people of Porto Rico.

But to any one who comprehends the true immensity of the catastrophe, the future does not look bright. The stricken people of Porto Rico, do what they may, can not live without help, and that help must come from their fellow American citizens on the mainland. The injury is too serious, the wound too deep, to be cured by temporary alleviation. It is doubtful if any disaster ever appealed with more justification to the American people. The response, it is believed, will not be less generous and ample than the need.



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# Porto Rico After the Storm

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BY THOMAS E. BENNER

Chancellor of the University of Porto Rico

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THE Porto Rico hurricane of September 13—the Hurricane of San Felipe, as it is known in the island—will rank with the Mississippi Valley flood of 1927 as one of the most destructive disasters the Western Hemisphere has ever suffered. This is an official opinion, issued twenty days after the storm by Henry M. Baker, National Director of Disaster Relief for the American Red Cross, who had been in charge of all relief work on the island. "In certain respects," Mr. Baker states, "it surpasses the Mississippi Valley flood, when one considers the relative size, wealth and potential, as well as real, resources of the affected people."

Dr. Bailey K. Ashford, a retired army officer and authority on tropical diseases, after a personal survey of the storm damage, reports his belief that five years will elapse before the island recoups its major losses. Dr. Oliver L. Fassig, United States Weather Bureau official for the Caribbean area, who has made a careful study of 300 hurricanes, is quoted as stating that the velocity of the San Felipe winds—over 150 miles per hour—is the highest recorded for any storm in history.

It is worth recalling that Porto Rico, with its 1,500,000 inhabitants, is one of the most densely populated countries in the world; that it is United States territory; that its citizens are citizens of the United States who volunteered *en masse* for service in the World War before the enactment of the draft law; that it is located only 1,340 miles from New York, midway between the Spanish-American South and the English-American North; and that its bi-lingual and bi-cultural tradition make of it a meeting place of the two great languages and points of view of the Americas.

It is as yet impossible to satisfy the natural desire of public opinion to know the number of dead, the number of injured, and the total of property damage. Why this is so is explained by the statement of

Red Cross officials that for the first time in the history of that organization they are operating in a major disaster without communication facilities of any kind throughout the area. Save for a few telephones in the three largest cities, and telegraph service to the immediate suburbs of these cities, the island three weeks after the hurricane was still without wire or wireless communication with the interior towns and cities. All messages were sent by mail or courier. There were not even available the type of field radio sets which maintained communications throughout the Mississippi Valley flood.

Such official reports as it has been possible to gather indicate that the official death list will reach somewhere between 300 and 500. This does not include many deaths in the rural districts which will never reach the official lists, nor does it include the deaths which have since occurred from injuries, exposure, disease, or lack of proper food. No figures which would justify an estimate of the number of injured are available. As to property damage, estimates of experienced officials fluctuate around a total of \$100,000,000 with the amount of insured losses varying between \$10,000,000 and \$20,000,000.

It is important, however, to note that these figures are no measure of the disaster. The experienced Red Cross executives who are directing the work of relief state:

"It is the opinion of most that not less than a half million persons, most of them farm laborers, are destitute and will have to be fed for weeks by the American Red Cross, after which they will need substantial assistance in restoring their little homes and getting back on their feet. Banana and plantain growths have been stripped of fruit and foliage; practically the entire orange, grapefruit, and avocado pear crops for this season are lost; and the coffee crop is a complete loss, including in many sections not only the coffee trees but the shade

trees under which these grow and without which they do not thrive in this climate. To this must be added the damage done to sugar mills, tobacco factories and warehouses, and other industries, which has added unemployment to the situation."

Two quantitative surveys of rural areas, reached only by mountain trails, have been made by faculty members of the University of Porto Rico, under the leadership of Mr. José C. Rosario of the College of Education. In the first of these areas, which is located on a trail from Carolina to Juncos, Mr. Rosario's group found that 57 per cent. of the homes were completely destroyed, 27 per cent. were unroofed, and only 16 per cent. escaped serious injury. For the rural districts alone, it may be estimated from these figures that 114,000 homes of farm laborers, housing approximately 570,000 people, were completely destroyed; that 54,000 homes of farm laborers, housing approximately 270,000, were unroofed, and that only 32,000 of these homes, housing 160,000, escaped serious injury.

The second of these surveys relates to the area along the trail from Utuado to Ciales in the coffee district. Of this section, Mr. Rosario's report states that "the misfortune of the coffee farmers and of their farm laborers is the most pitiful imaginable." He found that some of the laborers were able immediately after the storm to earn as much as 25 cents a day salvaging such of the fallen coffee berries as could be gathered from the ground. Meanwhile they were living on the bananas which had fallen during the storm. The destruction of homes was slightly less in this area, due to the fact that the houses are the property of the coffee plantation owners and, therefore, better built.

Mr. Baker, Red Cross National Director of Disaster Relief, says that the acute and intense need of the Porto Rico hurricane sufferers surpasses anything he has ever experienced in his career, which has included direction of Red Cross relief activities in the United States following 150 catastrophes, among them the Florida hurricane of 1926 and the New England flood of 1927. He also participated in the direction of the relief and reconstruction program in the Mississippi Valley.

This, he says, is due in part to the low standard of living and the close margin on which the average farm laborer lived prior to the disaster. "Most of them are with-

out either assets or liabilities of any kind," said Mr. Baker. "They have lived from day to day and week to week on their meager income, either in terms of commodities or money. When the hurricane destroyed their huts and crops, they were literally destitute."

Relief agencies report that the greatest destruction and subsequent relief needs have centered around the following towns: Yabucoa, Caguas, Cidra, Cayey, Comerio, Lares, Las Vegas, Las Piedras, Humacao, Morovis, and Barranquitas. However, more than fifty towns and a large part of the central and southern portion of the island were desolated. Relatively speaking, Ponce and San Juan, the two largest cities on the island, suffered little damage.

As in most disasters, the danger of epidemics has been present. The Red Cross, in coöperation with the Insular health authorities, took immediate steps to cope with the situation. On September 28 there were between twenty and twenty-five thousand persons under treatment. Most of them were influenza and grippe cases, aggravated by exposure and privation following the storm. With every reasonable precaution taken, the relief workers and the health authorities do not expect any serious outbreak of disease.

The problem of reconstruction which confronts all agencies in the island is a most difficult one. It is generally agreed that Federal assistance will be absolutely necessary. This must include assistance to farmers already being given through the Federal Land Bank, and assistance to the Insular Government, which will have great difficulty in collecting even the taxes necessary for carrying on a normal program, to say nothing of financing the reconstruction of roads, bridges and public buildings. About 12 per cent. of the taxes on real and personal property had been collected at the time the storm occurred. How much more can be collected during the present year is problematical, but the total will fall far below normal.

Of the greatest assistance in the long-time reconstruction program will be the social-economic survey of Porto Rico which is about to be made under the direction of the Brookings Institution. Dr. Victor Selden Clark, economist of international experience, who is to direct the survey, is already in the island to complete preliminary arrangements.

# The Storm in Florida

*The following information is from data supplied by John Temple Graves, II.  
of the Jacksonville "Journal"*

THE area of Florida is 58,666 square miles, and the State is considerably larger than New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. It is almost exactly equal in size to the State of Georgia, which is its immediate neighbor on the north. As a peninsula, extending several hundred miles from north to south, Florida has a shore line, washed by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, of 3,751 miles.

In the fact that its advantages and attractions have been advertised throughout the world under the State name as a sort of trademark, Florida is in the same position as California. To people who have never visited the great State on the Pacific Coast, and who have not acquired the habit of accurate geographical study, the word California conveys the impression of an entity having certain definite and uniform characteristics. Yet those well acquainted with California never think of it in this way, because of its infinite variety of climate, resources, and topography. Thus, if an earthquake affects a particular locality, the casual impression makes its way through the minds of distant multitudes that the whole State rests on shaky foundations.

It is true that Florida has far less physical diversity than California, but it also is an extensive corner of the United States; and the whole area has been made so famous under its State name of "Florida" that it is hardly surprising that the vast majority of Americans, never having visited the State, should think of it as possessing somewhat uniformly a series of attractions, with certain offsetting disadvantages.

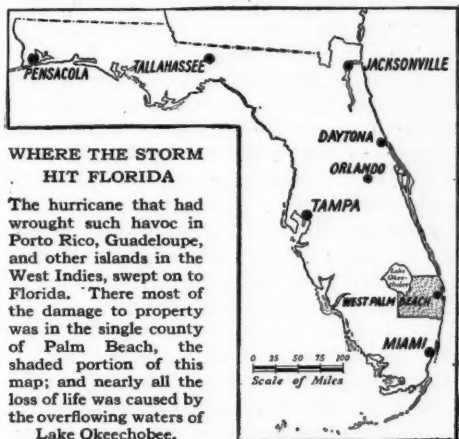
Thus, when a storm, like that of September of this year or that of September 1926, strikes the Florida coast with its West Indian fury scarcely abated, it is hard to dispel the prevalent idea that the whole State is similarly and evenly devastated.

In point of fact, the severe damage caused by this latest storm was mainly confined to

the single county of Palm Beach. This county, with its mileage on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, stretches inland to that large body of water on the northern edge of the Everglades called Lake Okeechobee. It is a large county, but it embraces only a little more than 3 per cent. of the total area of the State.

It is well to understand at once, therefore, that 95 per cent. of the area of the State of Florida was not in the devastating path of the storm. There was, indeed, a heavy wind and a terrific downpour of rain accompanying the hurricane, and these effects were felt throughout a number of other States, as also in Florida at large. But apart from the loss of life in this one county, and the serious damage to property within a definite area, the State of Florida does not call for commiseration. The hurricane did such serious damage, however, in its direct path, as to require Red Cross aid on a considerable scale.

What with conflicting stories put out by exaggerators and minimizers, the country in general has been lacking in accurate reports of actual storm damage in the Palm Beach and Okeechobee sections, particu-



larly as regards the relative losses as between the coast and interior, and as from the wind and the floods.

That the total property damage will amount to about \$50,000,000 is generally accepted. It seems also that the total loss of life was in excess of 2,000, and that the number injured was about 1,000 and that some 15,000 were left homeless.

Of the above totals approximately 90 per cent. apply to Palm Beach County, according to Mr. Howard W. Selby, director of Red Cross relief there. But Palm Beach County embraces some 2,000 or more square miles. It extends from Jupiter on the north to Boca Raton on the south, and from the coast on the east to a point some ten miles west of the eastern borders of Lake Okeechobee on the west. It embraces more than one-fourth of the shore line of Lake Okeechobee. In Palm Beach County the storm damage was of two kinds: the damage done principally to the coastal cities by the hurricane itself, and the damage done the back country and lake region by the ensuing floods.

In the town of Palm Beach, according to Mr. Selby, there were no deaths from the storm. In West Palm Beach the deaths totaled only four, three Negroes and one white man, the latter dying from nervous shock which brought on a heart attack. The total number of deaths from the actual hurricane was almost negligible.

Mr. Selby estimates that more than 95 per cent. of the deaths were due to floods following or coincident with the hurricane. Of the total, 75 per cent. were Negroes.

While the death totals resulted largely from the floods, and not from the hurricane, and were principally in the back country away from the coast, the relative property damage was in an opposite ratio. According to Mr. Selby the total damage to the Palm Beach County coastal area (resulting principally from the hurricane) was about \$40,000,000, while the damage to the interior regions (resulting mainly from the floods) was about \$10,000,000. Of the \$40,000,000 damage to coastal areas, some \$25,000,000 is represented by losses in Palm Beach and West Palm Beach. It is estimated that only about 10 to 20 per cent. of these property losses in the Palm Beaches were covered by hurricane insurance.

Mr. George Bensel, of the Southern States Land & Timber Company, and an authority on conditions in the devastated area, states

that the loss of life in the Everglades section was from drowning, the result of the wind tide estimated as covering the land from eight to ten feet in the Pelican Lake to South Bay territory; and that four-fifths of the number who died were Negroes living in the saw grass or back from the lake. He further states that the survivors are now going back to this section as the land emerges from the water.

From these reports it is easily realized that but a very small portion of the State of Florida suffered in any way from the storm and ensuing floods; and yet the Red Cross appeals for generous support have been fully justified.

It would seem imperative that the United States Government should now give prompt consideration to the question of Lake Okeechobee. A theoretical check upon the reduction of the lake's level from the standpoint of navigation must be abandoned, because there are no facts that justify the present restrictions.

Caribbean hurricanes will strike our southern coasts when they will, and heavy rainstorms will occur from time to time. Meanwhile, the Everglades will be drained, population will increase, and the menace of Lake Okeechobee will be wholly removed by proper engineering works. As regards the damage from hurricanes, it can largely be averted in advance by the replacement of flimsy construction with substantial buildings, and with steadily increased use of concrete and steel.

There is no reason to regard residence in Florida as extra-hazardous because of the possibility of such storms, any more than there is ground for avoidance of States lying west of the Mississippi on account of the annual recurrence of cyclones in one place or another. There will be earthquakes in California, but San Francisco will prosper and Santa Barbara will remain a beautiful and highly favorable place of resort. Nature in its wayward moods visits almost every pleasant region of the earth at one time or another, whether with earthquakes and volcanoes, with torrential rains, with blizzards and destructive cold waves, with blighting drouths, with twisting tornadoes, or with variously combined demonstrations that do violence to statistical averages. Thus, in spite of its storm records, Florida may justly be regarded as more auspiciously situated than are most other regions of the civilized world.



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# Highlights in the Presidential Campaign

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*These remarks by the Editor of the Review of Reviews were broadcast under the auspices of the National League of Women Voters, through more than twenty radio stations. They are published here in the hope that they may further serve the purposes of fair-minded citizens of broad views if printed before election.*

TWO vigorous Americans of keen intelligence and of tried capacity to meet emergencies and bear strains, are appealing to the voters of the United States as rivals for the office of President. No other post of authority in the present century is comparable in power or in opportunities for the service of mankind with that of the Chief Magistracy of our republic. If they are spared in health and in strength, as we earnestly hope they will be, we shall have for our President for four years after the fourth of next March, either Alfred E. Smith, Governor of the Empire State, or Herbert Hoover, who through two administrations has been at the head of the most important department of foreign and domestic commerce ever developed under any government whatsoever.

We have, happily, made universal in our country the habit of treating the Presidency, both the office and the man, with the highest respect, regardless of party. I have studied the life and career of every President from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge; and I have had opportunity to know personally at least eight of the incumbents of this exalted position. I do not believe that any one of the men who have thus served us has ever consciously failed to live up to his oath of office. No other country in any historic period has been so fortunate in a long succession of public dignitaries, whether hereditary or elective.

I am not here expressing an opinion as to the probabilities of the outcome of this election. When the Republicans set forth for us the reasons for the hope that is in them, I am impressed but not necessarily convinced that the country will take them at their word. They expect that the citizenry will prefer to elect Hoover through the momentum of Republican prestige,

with only minor regard to their organized efforts. When the Democrats in turn set forth their expectations, I am also impressed, but more surprised than convinced by their claims of victory. By sheer force of intensive salesmanship they propose to carry the list of States that are now in their "necessary" column. For my part I am hoping to know the result during the evening of November 6; but the returns may be close enough to compel me to wait until the next day.

Since one of these two men is to be President, we should not fail to treat them with the respect that their candidacies justify. Fortunately we have two great parties that are equally and thoroughly patriotic. Each recognizes in the other a formidable competitor, but not an enemy. Party cleavage once ran deep, but happily those times are past. Presidential politics in 1860 split the country asunder. In 1876, in the Hayes-Tilden trouble, parties were more than rivals, for there was an actual spirit of hostility. It is a good thing that the great mass of citizens in the country have learned to agree about many things which had once caused sharp party differences.

The Democratic party is fully one hundred years old, and is not in decadence. The Republican party is seventy-five years old, unified and self-confident. A certain percentage of independent voting is valuable to the country, and it serves as a corrective to both parties. The Northwest, with growing dissent from Republican policies, voted strongly for the La Follette third ticket four years ago. This year there will be no such third-party movement, and the Northwestern voters will simply take their choice between Hoover and Smith.

Mr. Hoover was not in disagreement with Mr. Coolidge in the veto of the McNary-

Haugen bill. That measure has passed Congress twice and might pass again. Senator Curtis, running for the office of Vice-President with Hoover, voted for that bill. Senator Robinson, running for the Vice-Presidency with Smith, also voted for that bill. Smith has not committed himself to anything at all regarding agriculture that might not be approved either by Coolidge or by Hoover.

Both candidates are men of the constructive type. Both are high-spirited men, conscious of good intentions, sensitive to criticism, capable of surrounding themselves with like-minded people, and more interested in discovering how great things can be done than in finding reasons for holding back from attempting them.

In the reconstruction of the lower Mississippi Valley, in such calamities as those that have befallen our beautiful island of Porto Rico, in economic adjustments affecting the public welfare, such as waterways and power projects, Mr. Hoover has the more experience, but Mr. Smith has also the impulse to learn and to achieve.

Recently we celebrated "Constitution Week": that is to say, the country was lauding the work of the convention of 1787, which was followed in 1788 by the first presidential election, of exactly one hundred and forty years ago. The *old* Constitution to-day is what it has come to be, through accepted construction, after the strain of civil war. The *new* Constitution is what has come about more recently, through conferring the income tax power upon the national government; enfranchising the women of the country; extending direct popular action to the election of senators, and nationalizing the earlier local verdicts of the people in most of the States against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. These new parts of the Constitution have made profound changes in the life of the people and in the working of the Government. Governor Smith's intense opposition to national Prohibition will not bring about any change in this new Constitution within the next few years, but it might aid in securing the ultimate reconsideration of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Both platforms assume that this Prohibition question is not pending. Both platforms more or less frankly seem to accept the national tariff policy of Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay, this being a startling reversal of former Democratic

theory. Both parties uphold the present system of banking and currency, under the Federal Reserve Board. Neither party has a word to say about the League of Nations, the Democrats having abandoned what was their main issue eight years ago.

At the moment when our bi-partisan delegation in the recent Pan American Conference held at Havana has done so much to harmonize the western hemisphere; at the moment when good relations with Mexico have been so fortunately restored; at the moment when Uncle Sam has been rendering peculiarly valuable services in Central America and the West Indies; at the moment when the leaders of the independence agitation in the Philippines have practically abandoned their propaganda—at this moment the Democratic platform calls for immediate independence of these Far Eastern islands, and deals harshly with all of Uncle Sam's recent efforts on behalf of Mexico, Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean.

It is unfortunate that platforms have such a tendency to lag behind the actual decisions of history. Nobody is going to haul down the American flag in the Philippines. As for Nicaragua, General McCoy will hold a real election, the best ever held in Central America, on November 4. Governor Smith is so much the embodiment of common sense, as opposed to the mere theoretical approach to public questions, that as President we could hardly imagine him in the rôle of Don Quixote.

Other things being equal, Republicans will vote for Hoover, and Democrats will vote for Smith. A certain fanatical movement—for a time veiled in ostentatious mystery—has sought in North and South alike to create discord on grounds of race, color, and religion. In such movements, action and reaction always tend to establish equilibrium. What they gain in one place, they lose in another. Neither Hoover nor Smith is making any appeals intended to stir up sectarian feelings or racial antagonism. If too great an effort should be made by Democrats to swing Republican Pennsylvania over the line for the sake of thirty-eight electoral votes, the logic of certain kinds of argument might have the effect to carry North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky for Hoover, and perhaps some other Southern States.

When the election is well over and political excitement has subsided, every Prot-

estant will know in the case of Smith's election that American sovereignty has not in the slightest degree been transferred to the Vatican. On the other hand, if Hoover should be elected, every American Catholic would recognize in him, as in all preceding Presidents, the most scrupulous impartiality. Religious freedom will remain unimpaired, and the next administration will respect the private feelings of every good citizen, quite regardless of creed or race or section.

A political campaign can be made useful from the educational standpoint, but our campaigns are now too long and too expensive. The conventions should be held

in September rather than in June, and a swift canvass of six or eight weeks should be sufficient. Let it be remembered that each convention this year nominated its candidate on the first ballot, after serious preliminary consideration within party councils; and the country was ready enough to vote on a month's notice.

Let me conclude by complimenting the League of Women Voters upon the remarkable intelligence with which that organization is disseminating useful information. It is one of the best of several commendable agencies that help voters, men as well as women, to perform their civic duties in a patriotic spirit.

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# Prohibition—A Moral Issue

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By the Right Reverend WILLIAM T. MANNING, D.D.

Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York

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*A sermon delivered in the Cathedral of St. John  
the Divine, New York, on Sunday, October 7.*

"SAY nothing but the truth"—II Chronicles, XVIII:15. That is what I am going to try to do upon a subject of great importance to the moral life of our country, which ought to be discussed with calmness and fairness, but which seems to excite in many people violent prejudice and passion; I mean the subject of the Prohibition Laws.

I hold it right to speak upon this subject at this time because it is a great moral issue directly affecting the lives and homes of our people.

There are some who hold the view, and it seems to be reflected in much of our press, that any utterance against Prohibition is honest and courageous, while any utterance in support of it is either ignorant or hypocritical. Imputations of that sort are of course absurd. Opposition to this law is no infallible badge of honesty. Those who support it may be quite as honest as those who oppose it, and I can not see that it requires any great degree of courage to denounce the Prohibition Law in the City of New York.

For my part I can tell you only what I believe to be the truth about this question.

Each one must form his own judgment; but each one of us is responsible for forming, so far as he can, a right judgment, and for helping thus to create a right public sentiment in this important matter.

I did not myself advocate the Prohibition Law at the outset and for some time doubted its advisability, but I have been brought by my own observation and enquiry to believe that it is bringing much benefit to our people as a whole, and will bring more in course of time.

For the sake of clearness I will state my views under the following heads:

1. Prohibition is the law adopted by representatives of the overwhelming majority of our people after long consideration and discussion, and judged by its results on the whole it is a good law. It is one of the greatest efforts towards moral and social betterment that has ever been made, and our action in making this effort is influencing the thought of the world.

2. Some great and serious evils have resulted from this law, but these evils are often exaggerated by those who oppose the law, and most of these evils are due not to

the law itself but to failure to observe and enforce it. Most of those who oppose and disobey the law admit that it would be a benefit to our country if it were properly observed. What is now needed is not abandonment of the undertaking which we have only just begun, but more earnest effort for enforcement of the law.

3. The assertions that this law can not be enforced come, most of them, from those who do not wish the law to be enforced, who never have wanted it enforced, and who admit that they hope to see it repealed on the ground that it can not be enforced. As to the possibility of enforcement, I agree with the statement made a few days ago by Mr. Thomas A. Edison that it can be enforced reasonably well if proper effort is made, and that it is already better enforced than some of our other laws, as for example the law against narcotics and the law against hold-ups. I think Mr. Edison also gave tersely and truly the answer to the contention that this law should be repealed because it is an encroachment upon personal liberty. He said as reported, "What is civilization anyway but a restraint on personal liberty? If liberty were to run wild we would have no advancement. Civilization improves as we curb liberty in the interest of the general welfare."

4. As to the actual working of the law, my work as Bishop takes me into every part of this city; and my belief, based on observation and enquiry, is that hampered as enforcement is here from the fact that we have no State Enforcement Act, and strong as the sentiment against the law is in this city, the conditions are nevertheless better than they were in the old days before Prohibition was adopted. I see less drunkenness in the streets and public places, and my friends of the Salvation Army, who are in very close contact with these conditions, tell me that in every department of their work they find great improvement as a result of Prohibition. To the plain people, who are the life of our country, I believe this law has already brought great benefit. It has done great things for the women and children in the homes of the wage workers of our land. I support it because of the benefits that it is bringing to the lives and homes of the plain people. And in those circles of society where opposition to the law has been most pronounced there are, I think, signs of a change of feeling. I believe that

many of the younger people are beginning to consider this question in its wider aspects; the not unnatural wave of youthful revolt against this restriction is, I believe, less strong. In the widest and most impartial enquiry that I know of as to the situation in our colleges, the enquiry made by the *Literary Digest*, it was shown as clearly as anything can be shown by reliable testimony that there is not more drinking in our colleges but less than there was before Prohibition. My belief is that before long the attitude of violent opposition to this law will be regarded as an old man's view, and that youth will take its natural place on the side of idealism and progress.

5. It may be that in the course of time the Volstead Law will be in some degree modified, but I doubt if the American people will listen to this until it is proposed by those who are known to be the friends of Prohibition instead of by those who are known to be its enemies. When the law is observed and enforced this will perhaps be considered. At present our people feel that the proposals for modification usually are intended to mean practical nullification.

6. The Christian principle in the matter seems to me to be that expressed by St. Paul when he says "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble." St. Paul does not say that eating meat is a sin, or that it is wrong in itself. What he says is that if eating meat causes his brother to stumble he will give up eating meat forever.

In view of the misery that the drink evil has brought to our race, and of what mothers, children, and fathers have suffered from it; in view of the admitted fact that its suppression would mean the reduction of poverty, vice, disease, and crime, ought we not to wish to see Prohibition fully and fairly tried, and to use our influence to secure for it a full and fair trial? I believe that the American people are determined to give it such trial and that in the light of it there will be few who will wish to see the Eighteenth Amendment repealed.

Can anyone doubt that the full observance of this law would be for the moral and spiritual good of our people as well as for their material benefit? Shall we not then do our part to secure its observance and willingly make such sacrifice of our personal liberty as may be involved for the sake of the common good?



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# A Campaign of Education

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BY JAMES G. HARBORD

Major-General, U. S. A., retired; President, Radio Corporation of America;  
New York City Chairman of Finance for the Republican National Committee

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THE OBJECT of political campaigning is to present your case to the people, do your best to convince them that you are right—and then get out the vote. Every political contest of importance is a campaign of education, made necessary by the fact millions of new voters come into the voting ranks each year, viewpoints change, new issues develop, and old issues assume new phases. The appeal to reason is necessary because the balance of power in the United States always rests in the hands of people who think and who, while open to conviction, reach their own conclusions. That is what justifies a democracy.

It is a costly process to set up the machinery designed to reach the voting population in a nation of 120,000,000 people. It would cost over a million dollars to send each voter a piece of mail with a two-cent stamp. I write about expenditures sympathetically because my duty in the campaign is that of an humble fund raiser. My relation to the educational effort which is now being conducted by the Republican party is wholly that of an onlooker.

I count it a privilege, however, to have been upon the scene because the campaign in its educational phases is an interesting thing to watch. The year 1928 marks a turning-point in the history of our democratic government. Science, invention, and business organization, upon which the political mind has sometimes looked askance, have succeeded where the fathers failed. For they have made it possible for political parties—for the first time in history—to take the people in on the ground floor. The political drama, in its unfolding, has been both seen and heard by millions of people. The campaign has been taken from the front porch to the firesides of the nation.

Previous to the Kansas City convention the public by means of the radio, moving-pictures, newspapers, and magazines had gained a clear-cut, cameo-like impression of

the several candidates for the Republican presidential nomination. When the convention met the people calmly proceeded to listen in. The men and women who passed across the convention stage were not remote or legendary figures. The people had seen their faces and heard their voices. They knew how they walked and talked. The convention itself was the first step in the educational process.

In the old days it would have been necessary for the party, as its first step, to acquaint the people with its candidates. This was really unnecessary as a detail this year. The public knew Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis. There developed, however, an insatiable demand for biographical material concerning our national candidates. Magazines and newspapers of their own volition published character sketches by the score. These articles have been reprinted and widely distributed, with the result that the lives of Secretary Hoover and Senator Curtis have literally been placed under the microscope at the bar of public opinion.

The next task, obviously, was to make the public equally well acquainted with the party platform. The proceedings of the Kansas City convention containing it were therefore made available in convenient printed form and widely distributed.

Then came the notification ceremonies. In other days these were routine proceedings. This year the acceptance speeches were spoken to the nation. The candidates interpreted the platform in terms of the home and they were likewise heard in the heart of the home.

With the people in possession of the convention background, the party platform as interpreted by the candidates themselves became a vital instrument. The issues emerged with almost startling suddenness. The leaders pitched their tents upon the battleground and the rolls were opened for enlistments. The acceptance speeches of

the candidates immediately became campaign documents. No one can tell at this time how many have been distributed. The "leave to print" goes down the line, State, county, and city organizations supplying their own needs. The same rule holds with the Campaign Text Book.

The organization of a speakers' bureau, national and regional publicity departments for the release of spot news, a clipping bureau for the dissemination of editorial opinion, news-reels showing the progress of the campaign in pictures—all of these are traditional activities. But their effectiveness has grown by reason of the increase in the avenues of distribution.

Practically all great organizations involving numbers of people depend upon successful decentralization. The Republican nominee for the presidency and his chairman maintain contact with the campaign as a whole from offices at Washington. An eastern and western headquarters are connecting links with the field. Within all these areas the activities of the national organization are duplicated and reduplicated. State, county, and city organizations maintain speakers' bureaus, conduct speakers' conferences, arrange meetings, distribute literature. In many cities vacant storerooms have been rented and arrangements made for continuous speaking, orchestras and bands being employed to furnish variety.

The major incidents in the campaign of education are necessarily the addresses made at strategic points by the presidential nominee. These are designed to center attention successively upon the major issues of the pending contest. Every time the candidate speaks he reaches the people over the air. It is no longer necessary to visit a hundred different places in order to keep repeating the same message. We realize that this is so, but it is not easy to appreciate the full significance of this latest development.

Invention, mechanical appliances, have made it possible to "debunk" politics, if I may borrow that awkward verb from the slang of the day. Certainly it can no longer survive in the utterances of the leaders. The microphone and the moving-picture combined divest leadership of all legend and myth. The man who speaks while millions listen cannot hide a paucity of ideas

with a brilliant oratorical style. The path to political preferment is no longer confined to those who can talk glibly, but it is open to every man or woman who can think.

The resources of modern science are not the exclusive possession of the Republican party. It claims credit only for the fact that it utilizes them freely. Radio, moving-pictures, speakers' meetings, campaign documents, spot news, successive editions of important speeches, editorial discussion—facts, facts, facts where the people can see them, hear them, read them—these are the items on the program devised by the Republican organization to present its case to the electorate.

There is nothing new or startling in the schedule. But by means of modern appliances campaigning has been brought down from the clouds. Nation-wide radio hook-ups cost money. Literature, the expense of regional and local speakers, halls and distribution machinery cost money. The amount, while large in the aggregate, is actually very small in proportion to the number of persons reached. And from the fund-raising point of view I am convinced that the new methods of political campaigning will ultimately bring politics so close to the voter that it will be possible to finance future contests by means of comparatively small contributions received from the millions of party supporters.

The Republican party in its educational program stands upon the record—the record of the party itself and the record of its candidates. The mechanics of the educational campaign are devised for the purpose of placing that record in the hands of every voter who can be reached, by radio, letter, face to face, or by motion-picture and printed page.

We face new conditions and use new methods. The era of the spellbinder is over. The scientists who worked patiently for years to develop new methods of communication never dreamed that their inventions would affect the political life of the American people. Nevertheless, we are passing through our first real campaign of education because it is the first time it has been possible to conduct one in the wholly modern manner. While machine politics are a grievous heritage from the past, the Machine Age is with us and we must make its methods our own.

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# The First Decade of Peace

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BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

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## *I. The Tenth Anniversary*

THIS month of November marks the close of the first decade since the Armistice of Rethondes ended the fighting of the World War. Ten years ago, as I write in mid-October, American troops were struggling through the Argonne forest. They were fighting their way foot by foot through all the tangle of woods and trenches, swamps and barbed wire which constituted the final line of German resistance, the last ditch of the Meuse-Argonne stronghold. The greatest battle in American military history had become another Wilderness. Moreover, if Pershing, like Grant, was temporarily checked, he was gradually sucking into the combat on his front the ultimate German reserves, whose destruction would entail surrender.

Westward in the Champagne, Gouraud's army was keeping pace with the American, while still further westward along the flaming crescent of battle, Haig's forces had already smashed the Hindenburg Line—a triumph as significant in the World War as Grant's "break through" at Petersburg in the Civil War—and were crashing forward in the advance which would end only at Mons. In Belgium, another army was across the blood-soaked Paschendaele Ridge; and Belgian, French, British, and American soldiers were approaching Ghent and threatening Antwerp and Brussels.

Finally, whatever doubts balanced rapidly mounting hopes on the Allied side, whatever fears endured that victory would have to be postponed to 1919, among the Germans there was no illusion. The enemy knew he was beaten and domestic revolution was already within full view. While the German soldiers actually on the firing line, in the final and despairing struggle, displayed a dogged courage which constitutes, perhaps, the most shining page in

the whole history of Germany military achievement, the High Command had already thrown up the sponge, Ludendorff had retired, and his successors were looking upon the conflict as a race between the final smash of their Armies and the arrival of an Armistice.

Nothing can be more difficult than to try to reconstitute now the state of mind which existed at that hour, to recall what was hoped and expected, so that one may today measure the first ten years of peace according to the standards which, in the closing days of the war, had become the common thought of all the peoples of the various allied and associated nations. In fact, the suddenness of the victory, in the end, following the four long years of agony and of supreme doubt, left the world, the people, the soldiers, and above all the statesmen, unprepared. Triumph came almost as to the crew in a college race, for whom existence has become nothing more than the mechanical response to an ever-increasing demand to spend their remaining strength.

It is patent, however, that the chief hope of the world in November, 1918, was not alone for peace at the moment, but for peace which should be enduring. The "war to end war" was a phrase, but the hope was universal that the signal to "cease fire" would be something beside a truce destined to last a decade or a generation.

Measured by the hopes of November, 1918, it is clear that the first decade has proved to be a disappointment. While the progress of physical reconstruction has exceeded all expectations, it is clear that only relatively minor progress has been made in what might, perhaps, be called the organization of peace. The world has certainly grown calmer. Passions have

subsided. But it would be idle to attempt to disguise the fact that the superficial improvement has not served to dissipate grave anxieties. In recent months and even weeks these have found new expression, alike in the speech of Briand at Geneva, the explosion which this speech provoked in Germany, and in the worldwide *malaise* consequent upon a new Anglo-French agreement which revives all the old memories of the pre-war days.

When one comes to analyze the causes of this present anxiety, it is clear that they are discoverable in the terms of the peace settlements themselves. The treaties made at Paris were based primarily upon fears which had been born of the then recent struggle, or surviving as a part of the permanent unhappy tradition of Europe. The Treaty of Versailles, made with Germany, had as its natural and inevitable purpose to reduce the political area of the German state to its lowest possible extent, and to surround this remaining Germany by every conceivable form of constraint. The purpose was to prevent the German nation from ever again becoming what the victors of 1918 conceived that it had actually

constituted during all the opening years of the twentieth century.

This peace—which has been termed, not unfairly, a peace of violence, and in various of its details has inevitably aroused the proper condemnation of all reasonable critics—was not, however, the outcome of evil, jealous, and vindictive intentions. It was the direct consequence of the fear which the very magnitude of German military achievement during the war itself inevitably had produced.

Moreover, it is essential to perceive that fear remains, despite all the incidental improvements which have followed political agreements like that of Locarno and even more considerable economic associations. In a sense it grows as a consequence of the fact that Germany has begun to recover, that it has surmounted its domestic political difficulties and has come brilliantly through the worst of the economic dislocations of the post-war period. The period within which military occupation of German soil can continue is drawing to a close. The limits for all continuing financial restraint and surviving burdens incident to reparations have been plainly indicated.

## II. Restraining a Conquered Nation

All Europe is vaguely and unpleasantly aware of the fact that the Teutonic Colossus is beginning to show clear evidences of a renewed strength wholly reminiscent of the still recent past. There is the foundation of the present European anxiety and the explanation of the halt in all the various undertakings to organize peace, of which disarmament is the most familiar although by no means the most important.

Today the conquerors of Germany perceive that all the restraints imposed by the peace treaties have been of no avail in permanently restricting the German nation; in fact they have not served more than temporarily to interrupt its progress toward a position of potential supremacy on the continent of Europe. And that progress revives all the old alarms which were disclosed in the peace treaty. A new Germany, perhaps stronger than the old, is presently to debate with her conquerors the still unresolved issues of which the union of Austria and Germany is the most considerable, that of the Polish Corridor and

Upper Silesia the most acute, but the independence of the Czechs of Bohemia and the permanence of French possession in Alsace are only less disturbing.

In viewing this situation from an American standpoint it is necessary to appreciate the extent to which history influences European judgment. And it is particularly necessary to recognize the parallel between the settlement of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and that of the Conference of Paris in 1919, if one is to appreciate the European state of mind.

A century ago the victorious Allies of that day made in respect of France precisely the same sort of treaty the conquerors of 1918 made in the case of Germany, and for the same reason. Their chief purpose was to fix the limits and conditions of the French nation in such fashion that France would never again be able to overrun Europe as she had during the wars of the Revolution and the First Empire. The settlement of Vienna was a settlement of violence, but at bottom the violence was born of fears which were



neither unnatural nor unfounded. Accordingly France was reduced to the smallest possible limits, a Bourbon king was set on the French throne, Dutch troops were placed on the Belgian frontiers, Prussia was established at Saarlouis and Landau, and Austrian garrisons dominated Northern Italy from the Quadrilateral.

Nevertheless, despite the tremendous resources of the alliance which overthrew Napoleon, the task was beyond them. The boys who saw Louis XVIII lumber back through the streets of Paris in the wake of the Allied armies were not yet grown to manhood when the last Bourbon took the long road to exile. Within forty years after Waterloo, another French army had passed along the highway which climbs by La Haye Sainte to Mont St. Jean, on its way to expel the last Dutch garrison in Belgium. Moscow had been avenged at Sebastopol, the laurels of Austerlitz and Wagram, which had withered at Leipsic, had been revived at Solferino and Magenta in Austrian defeat. The generation which was young when the first Napoleon took a ship for St. Helena was not yet old when a third Napoleon reigned in Paris and France once more occupied her traditional position on the European continent.

Now, like the French people, the German people have refused to accept a settlement dictated by fear of their strength. And what the French accomplished in the last century awakens inevitable fear as to what the Germans may do in the present. Again, while France achieved her resurrection without disturbing the territorial integrity of her neighbors, German restoration is directly dependent upon a series of territorial modifications destructive of the economic liberty, the political unity, and the economic prosperity and freedom of various countries. And for all of these countries the contemporary German recovery is the cause of profound anxiety.

In such a situation it is easy for Americans to fall into the error of basing their judgment upon their sympathies, their prejudices upon a one-sided view of the problem. This means in practice to take either the German or the anti-German view, assuming that one is just and right and the other wrong and even wicked. But the real trouble lies in the fact that two rights are in collision: the right of the German people to unity, the right of the Polish and Czech peoples to both economic

and political independence. And in the present situation these two rights are irreconcilable. Moreover, the difficulty is accentuated by the fact that the rights of the people which is actually the stronger were denied in the Paris peace settlement.

European unrest today turns upon the fact that the German people indignantly refuse to accept a position which seems unjust and intolerable not only to the militarists or Junkers or Pan-Germans, but also to the great reasonable, peace-loving majority. But exactly the same reasonable majority in France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland resolutely oppose a revision, which to them would be but a prelude to German hegemony in Europe and the inevitable onset of a new general war like the last. Real stability in Europe waits upon the time when, either by acceptance on the part of the German people or by revision consented to by Germany's neighbors, the disputed frontiers can acquire the character of those which separate the United States and Canada—frontiers which in extent make the European ones seem paltry, and which in sheer neglect of all statelegal circumstance constitute a total negation of every European calculation.

Europe is still afraid of Germany, and Germany is still unreconciled to the limitation imposed by her conquerors and as a result of their fears. That is the actual situation ten years after the close of the World War. There have been moments, like that of Locarno, when fears have momentarily yielded to unmistakable necessities; but the fears have returned. All the other questions which trouble the surface of European waters—reparations, debts, evacuation, disarmament—are relatively minor. They could and would disappear if the dominating sense of apprehension and uncertainty could once be exorcised. But, so far, brief periods of what would seem to the detached American intervals of sanity have been promptly succeeded by new accessions of old fears.

Moreover, for practical purposes, it is useless to attempt to analyze European situations in detail. In recent days the whole Continent has been set by the ears because of the celebration of the idea of a union between the Austrian and German republics, incident to a festival of German and Austrian singers. The very harmony in which these singers chanted songs in their common language stirred a discord in

Europe, which disclosed itself in the press of the Continent and contributed not a little to the amazing utterances of Briand at the League of Nations.

The great fact in Europe today is that there is no method by which the aspirations of the German people for unity in the largest sense, and the desire of the smaller Slav peoples for independence, can be reconciled. Nor is there any present way of insuring that the Greater Germany which would result from the realization of German aspirations would not become a menace to the liberty of the whole continent. On the contrary, all the countries which in the past have acquired disproportionate strength have made the experiment in hegemony. And the Greater Germany would be more powerful, comparatively speaking, than any of the nations which

in the past have tried the adventure.

It is not true that the peoples of Europe, collectively or singly, are more militaristic, chauvinistic, or imperialistic than those of the United States. They suffer from the chronic disease of Europe. We enjoy a health which is the consequence of the American political climate. No really important group in any nation wants war: our peace sentiments are mainly abstract, but European sentiments are based upon very concrete and continuing evidences of what war means. But we have peace, and the Europeans have so far been unable to find it; and ten years after the war they see the old dangers reappearing. At the present time, they are suffering from one of their periodic attacks of nerves. That is what exists at the moment of the tenth anniversary of the Armistice.

### *III. The Old Story of War Debts*

Three episodes in the past month have collectively served to emphasize again the almost insuperable obstacles which block the pathway of any effective coöperation between the United States and Europe. These three episodes were: the combined utterances of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of France in the matter of debts; the American answer to the Anglo-French naval agreements; and, finally, the League of Nations proposals to extend—and, in Geneva phrase, “perfect”—the Kellogg Pact. Taken together, these three incidents show the fundamental inability of the American and European minds to draw the same conclusions from facts which are admitted on both sides and disclosed in written agreements.

To take, first, the hackneyed subject of the Allied debts: What M. Poincaré said at Charnes was substantially that France would never consent to any readjustment of the reparations system (that is, the Dawes Plan) save as she was at all times insured against having to pay more on her debts to Britain and America than she got from Germany. Actually he went further, and added that France must also get something to meet the costs of her enormous expenses incident to the reconstruction of the devastated area.

In estimating M. Poincaré's speech it is essential to perceive that it was made in

Lorraine and on the exact front where France won her first considerable victory of the World War, the victory which broke the force of the German invasion coming from Alsace-Lorraine and thus prepared the way for the later and decisive victory of the Marne. One would have something of a parallel if Mr. Coolidge had chosen to speak on a question vital to American minds upon the battlefield of Gettysburg.

What the distinguished ex-President of France said was, logically beyond debate, if his premises were accepted, but practically nonsense. What Germany can pay in the matter of reparations is *what she can pay*. It is possible to carry on an endless debate as to how much that sum is, but whatever the amount, it is a physical fact. Now this physical fact is not affected by what France has to pay the United States and Great Britain, any more than it is affected by the laws of gravitation. It can not be increased or diminished by reason of American debt policy.

To assert, therefore, that France will never consent to any arrangement by which the German obligations are made to conform to the ability of Germany to raise and transfer payments across her frontiers until the United States agrees to reduce her claims so that France will get all she needs for debt payment and something for devastated area expenses, is in itself to state a

perfectly absurd economic thesis. I might with equal justice declare that I shall never agree to accept from my debtor, John Doe, all the money that can be raised on his assets as a payment in full for my claims, unless the money thus available amounts to enough to pay all I owe Richard Roe and Samuel Sloan and leave me a comfortable balance for my current expenses.

To tell the Germans, therefore, that evacuation of their soil will not take place in advance of the date fixed by the treaty as the outside limit of occupation, unless France is assured of all the money she needs for debts and some of the money she needs for reconstruction, is simply to say that one victorious ally will not agree to final adjustment with a former enemy until that former enemy, by some means or other, persuades another victorious ally to come to terms.

All of which comes down to the very simple fact that M. Poincaré, the French Prime Minister, is saying to Herr Mueller, the German Chancellor, that France will not evacuate German soil until the United States accepts French views with respect of French debts to the United States. But what on earth has the German Chancellor got to do with American debt policy? Why should the Rhineland continue to suffer Allied occupation because Washington refuses to accept the views of Paris?

Even if one accept the version of the Treaty of Versailles that the Germans are a "guilty people," surely it is not even logical to hold them responsible for American policies. Vaguely one may say that Germany is responsible for the debts owed the United States, because they represent money lent to the Allies to help defeat her. But on account of the war she is paying reparations in accordance with treaty provisions, amended by common consent in the Dawes plan. Actually what M. Poincaré should do is to occupy Long Island or New Jersey. His quarrel is not with Germany.

Again, it would be a mistake to hold France the single responsible nation. The Poincaré doctrine is no more absurd than the Balfour Note policy. In the Balfour Note, Britain said that she would hold her Allies of the war and Germany to pay all and no more than she was held to pay the United States. But what is the connection? Whatever we ask Britain to pay is a fact. Whatever Germany, France and Italy owe

Britain, to the limit of their abilities to pay, is another fact. If we insist upon collecting one hundred dollars from Britain and the other countries can only pay fifty we are not responsible nor are they.

As the French should occupy New Jersey and not the Palatinate, Britain should re-occupy Philadelphia and not stay in Wiesbaden. The whole conception of making Germany responsible for the American debt policy is one of the most fantastic and absurd affairs in modern history. But there it is. The only difference is that while France makes Germany exclusively responsible for our national policy, Great Britain would divide the responsibility between her old enemy and her former Allies.

But, of course, in practice this whole proceeding is mere eyewash. The Allies are occupying Germany, and Britain is upholding France and Italy, because it is impossible to occupy New York or Philadelphia. And what is at the bottom of the European mind is that in some curious fashion this astounding operation will appeal at one time to the American conscience and to the American material interest. On the one hand, that is to say, we should feel that nothing but our desire to collect our debts is keeping Allied troops in Germany and postponing peace in Europe. On the other hand, we should perceive that since we have lent Germany vast sums of money on balance it would be better to scrap the Allied debts, promote evacuation of Germany, and see our loans guaranteed by German prosperity.

That is all there is to the present backing and filling over the reparations and debt issues. Europe, the Allies, know now that they cannot collect reparations from the Germans in any such measure as they had expected. They must collect them from the United States, in the shape of debt reductions and cancellations. But they cannot force us by occupation or by threat to cancel or reduce. The most they can do is to continue to occupy Germany, keep the Continent in an uproar, and calculate that sooner or later we shall be moved to end the disorder by accepting their views.

Now, blackmail is an ugly word. The French *chantage* is much more polite. But however one may choose to describe Allied policy with respect of Germany at the moment, in so far as it is dictated by debt and reparations concerns it is blackmail and nothing else; and the United States is the

real target, although Germany is the immediate victim. France is going to occupy Germany, and Great Britain to dun France and Italy publicly, until—so the calculation goes—the hard heart of America is touched, along with the pocket nerve, and we do the graceful thing.

Many of the readers of this magazine will recall that I have frequently expressed the opinion here that it would be wiser policy to cancel the debts than to try to collect them. I have held this view because I have never believed that they could be collected, and I have always been of the opinion that the attempt to collect them would in the end be more expensive than cancellation. I hold that view still. But I do not believe that cancellation is a moral obligation on the part of the United States, nor do I for a moment believe that the European states collectively or separately should be permitted "to get away with" their present operation, which is a deliberate effort to jockey the United States out of its debt policy by public persecution of the Germans. We may be partially responsible for Allied presence in Germany. That is a matter of opinion. But to try to saddle us with the blame for their continued stay is "a bit thick."

Meantime—and this is the point I have sought to make—the whole episode discloses how mistaken was American opinion official and public, when it assumed that the various debt settlements were settlements, just because they were signed and ratified by the European states. We thought something was finished, but in fact something was begun and continues.

In this connection I am tempted to tell the story of an old friend of mine, a diplomat of long standing, ambassador to a European country. We were discussing some one of the endless post-war issues between Europe and the United States. Finally, he said rather suddenly:

"I have been in Europe a good while. I have gotten used to European ways. I very often think that our official policy is mistaken. Congress, with its eternal and senseless denunciations of European things, often gets on my nerves. But there is one thing that in the end makes a '100 per center' of me, and that is the apparent European conviction that the United States can only be one of two things—a sinner or a sucker. That is what it comes down to every time. And, speaking for myself, when the choice is offered me, I come out for the sinner good and strong."

#### *IV. What Is Naval Parity?*

In exactly the same fashion, when the United States and Great Britain signed certain treaties as a consequence of the Washington Conference, the American people concluded that what had been settled was the great issue of parity between the United States and Great Britain, not in the matter of battleships or airplane carriers, but in the matter of naval strength. We stood in the position of approximate supremacy. We had only to complete our pending program to have a superiority in the first line which would have been decisive. But the American people agreed readily to scrap the uncompleted tonnage, because it felt that equality was all it needed and that competition would be not only futile but disgraceful.

A few years later the United States discovered that what Washington had actually decided was that there should be parity where there had been danger of American superiority, but that for Britain there was

to be continued superiority in the directions in which her supremacy had existed at Washington. Now originally the responsibility for this condition was not British but American; it was the business of our representatives at Washington to see to it that we did not abandon prospective superiority in battleships until we obtained certain equality in cruisers. This they did not do. Thus the British position is technically unassailable.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the British had accepted the principle of parity, and there could be no ground or objection to the course of the President in seeking at a new conference to complete the Washington agreements by extending them to cover all categories. But what happened at Geneva? It is not exact to say that the British at once accepted the principle of parity. On the contrary, it was not until the American indignation over the first proceedings had begun to take the form of a newspaper



explosion, that Mr. Bridgeman, the British representative, sent for the Associated Press correspondent and at a midnight session informed him that Great Britain accepted the principle of parity.

But what was parity? We said it was agreeing, in the matter of cruisers that there should be equal tonnage—as in the case of battleships. The British said that it should be by categories, so many 10,000-ton cruisers, so many smaller cruisers. But we did not want the smaller cruisers, which were the British choice, because they would be useless, given our widely separated naval bases. We could have equality, if we chose to accept it in the British sense. Then we should have a small number of large cruisers, while we needed a considerable number, so our experts said. The British would have the same number and a very large assortment of the kind of ships we could not use—plus their vast merchant marine, which could be thrown into employment with the next war just as it was in 1914.

So the Geneva Conference broke down, on the direct orders of London as Lord Robert Cecil later disclosed. Personally, I think there was a great deal to be said for the British contention at Geneva, although very little for the fashion in which it was supported. But despite the failure at Geneva, American public opinion, after a brief show of irritation, dismissed the matter in the belief that negotiations would be continued and some working arrangement found by which each party could have the ships it needed and parity fixed up to suit both by compromise. Holding this view, Congress postponed action on the naval program, which was to insure parity by new construction.

In the meantime, what has the British Government done? It rushed off to Paris and made a deal with the French by which France accepts the British thesis as advanced in Geneva. In return, Great Britain has dropped its consistent opposition to the French view about estimating military strength. Henceforth trained reserves are not to be counted as soldiers and, in point of actual fact, all proposals for the limitation of land armaments become mere absurdities.

By this astonishing maneuver the British Government hoped to isolate the United States in the next general disarmament conference under the auspices of the League.

In such a convention we were to find ourselves opposed not only by Great Britain and by France but by every single European state allied with France and relying upon the conscript system. And we would naturally be charged with the responsibility of holding up disarmament in Europe because we were seeking to get naval supremacy in the world under the specious plea of parity.

That is the old game in a new form. It is precisely the thing which has been tried in reparations. Because we insist that our associates of the war shall pay varying percentages of what they borrowed from us, we are to be saddled with the responsibility for the continued occupation of Germany by the Allied armies. We are also to be held guilty if the British enforce the policy of the Balfour Note in respect of France and Italy. Europe is to be united against us over debts; what the Socialists and Communists describe as a "single front" is to be maintained. And the design is again to make us give up our policy, in obedience to what is the carefully arranged public opinion of Europe. The moral issue is to be invoked against us, and we are expected as a consequence to surrender.

What British statesmanship has undertaken to do with respect of parity is what it undertook to do over debts. The Paris agreement with France is just another Balfour Note operation. The British and Italian governments ratified, and the French government signed, debt settlements with us because at the moment they needed American aid in their financial difficulties. The French did not get the aid because they did not ratify. The British did, but they never accepted the principle of debt payment; they always held that morally our policy was indefensible and eventually it would have to be abandoned, and in the Balfour Note they set out to make us abandon it.

The inner circle in the British navy, who exercise an enormous influence upon the present Cabinet, have never accepted the principle of equality between the British and the American fleets. At Washington they faced the fact that unless they agreed to parity in battleships they would be compelled to sit by while we actually seized superiority. But although they accepted the inevitable in battleships, they found in the French submarine episode the chance at one time to escape parity (where they

had superiority) and saddle the French with the responsibility.

The agreement with Paris is no more than another way to preserve superiority in the cruiser line by getting the aid of the French, and the conscript nations generally, at the price of sacrificing a principle for which the British have contended since the beginning of disarmament discussions. All of which means that they regard the American Navy as a more serious menace than the standing armies of Europe.

No one who was not at Geneva during or immediately after the Coolidge Conference, last year, has any idea of the skill with which the British game was played on the European front. We were represented as imperialistic, navalistic, seeking supremacy, striving at one time by our debt policy to establish financial hegemony and by our naval policy to seize naval mastery. Geneva was shaking its head solemnly over this new American phenomenon, so unpleasantly reminiscent of the German in the pre-war years. My European friends spoke sadly in commenting on my country. We were morally sinking in the world's estimation.

Geneva is always weeping about the United States. We are the black sheep among the nations. We are the backslider. And the Coolidge Naval Conference was the ultimate demonstration of our wickedness. What was more simple, then, than to

organize the League Disarmament Conference against us by the simple device of British acceptance of French views as to military strength? That was all there was to the thing. Diplomatically it was clever enough, politically it was a failure because it did not work.

I should like to have my readers recall one circumstance of the Washington Conference. The supreme effort of British diplomacy at that time was to get the United States to join Britain in coercing the French into abandoning the use of the submarine. The American Government, the American press, everything was worked upon by this magnificently organized operation. The British wanted to get rid of the submarine because in French hands it was an even greater peril than in German, given the nearness of the French coast to the British.

But what is the Anglo-French naval agreement? One of the essential details is the recognition that the French may build all the small submarines they desire. Yet small submarines are precisely the weapon that would be used against the British. Why have the British suddenly gone over to the French, swallowed the submarine issue whole, and enlisted the French support against our naval policy? Because, on balance, they regard the cruiser in American hands as more dangerous than the submarine in French. You cannot escape the conclusion.

## V. "Perfecting" the Kellogg Pact

In the matter of the Kellogg Pact, the proposals made by M. Politis which were there described as an attempt "to perfect it," cannot pass unnoticed. In the first place, although little known in America, the Greek statesman is a big figure in Geneva; and what he says is accepted not as a merely personal view, but as representing a very large body of opinion within the League. He is, in fact, although the representative of a small country, one of the outstanding personages of the League of Nations.

What M. Politis proposes is just what Europe has been proposing in the case of every American peace proposal from Woodrow Wilson's onward. Europe does not believe in peace resolutions which do not carry police attachments. It believes that

you must not only renounce war, but you must provide an international mechanism for dealing with the sinner who, despite his pledge, does actually resort to aggressive war. But that means, in our own case, that we are to agree in advance to associate ourselves with any League of Nations undertaking to restrain or to punish an aggressor.

It will be argued, as my friend Mr. George Wickersham has already publicly asserted, that this is a natural consequence of the Kellogg Pact, and we should be prepared to back our treaty. But the difficulty lies in the fact that Europe has a totally different conception of what aggression means. As I pointed out in the first chapters of this article, it is alarmed by the rapid recovery of Germany. It anticipates an early endeavor on the part of the German

people and the Austrian to unite, thus violating the provision of the Treaty of Versailles which prohibits such amalgamation.

Austrian and German decision to unite would thus constitute an aggression. France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia would be bound to appeal to the League. The League would be bound by the treaties to declare Germany and Austria guilty of aggression, and to license France and her Allies to make defensive war upon them. The League would also be bound to set up some form of coercion, and it has been assumed this would be a financial and economic boycott and a naval blockade. But none of these measures would be of any use if we insisted, as we have the right to insist, that we were entitled under existing international law to trade with Germany and Austria.

What M. Politis is up to is to validate the whole machinery of the League, by abolishing the single possible interference, which would come from us. What American interest is served, however, by the denial to the Germans of Austria and the Reich to unite, if they want to? It is patent that such a union might destroy the balance of power in Europe and compromise the security of France and the Slav countries. Perhaps they have as good a case, in justice, to oppose it as the Germans have to advocate it. Yet what business have we in such a purely European controversy? Accepting the League blockade would, of course, not only make us technically belligerents but would inflict enormous losses upon the South through its cotton, and upon the West through its grain, copper, and meat. Why should we shoulder this loss because Europe is unfortunate enough to be unable to adjust its racial disputes peaceably?

But M. Politis and his League friends

want to maneuver us into a position in which the moral issue will be against us and in which we shall have to take the European view. It is the debt and naval business all over again. The fact that we lent the Allies money to prosecute the war against Germany, the fact that we made a naval agreement with the British by which we resigned a superiority we might have enjoyed without challenge, the fact that Mr. Kellogg proposed a treaty renouncing war, all of these circumstances are in turn seized upon by Europe to make us do something else, which Europe wants. The latest game, in the words of Sir Austen Chamberlain, is to make us "back our treaty." But backing our treaty, which in the United States means abstaining from planning or picking a fight, means in Europe assisting in the maintenance of a *status quo*, created on the basis of a military victory over Germany in 1918—just as lending the Allies money means giving it to them, just as agreeing to parity with the British means accepting their views as to parity which leaves them supremacy.

Of course it is absurd to see in all this the diabolical cunning of a fundamentally wicked European diplomacy. It is nothing of the sort. It is simply the disclosure of the fact that Europe regards all international dealing as a form of bargaining, a kind of horse-trade. And, because we have no necessities such as dictate European policies, we do not so regard it. Thus we are periodically surprised to discover that white, if it does not mean black, certainly does pass for a deep and dappled gray in the European color scheme. Getting angry and calling names over this is, of course, childish; but getting anxious and consequently becoming color-blind is just as silly.

### English Comment on the Naval Agreement

While British opinion is against the secrecy as to the terms of the Anglo-French naval agreement, it does not altogether approve of the criticisms in America. It is pointed out that the agreement is merely a basis of discussion, does after all propose disarmament, and obviously cannot be effective if the other countries of the world do not approve.

Editorial, in the London *Public Opinion*.

It was obvious that the agreement—however innocent the British intention might be, and we know perfectly well that it *was* innocent—would be taken by Germany to mean a closing up of the French and British ranks against her, and would in particular be taken by America to mean a definite challenge to herself. Much the easiest explanation of the blunder, which happens also to be the kindest, is that Sir Austen Chamberlain was very ill and terribly overworked at the time.

Editorial, in the London *Spectator*.

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# The Cruiser Question

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BY N. H. GOSS

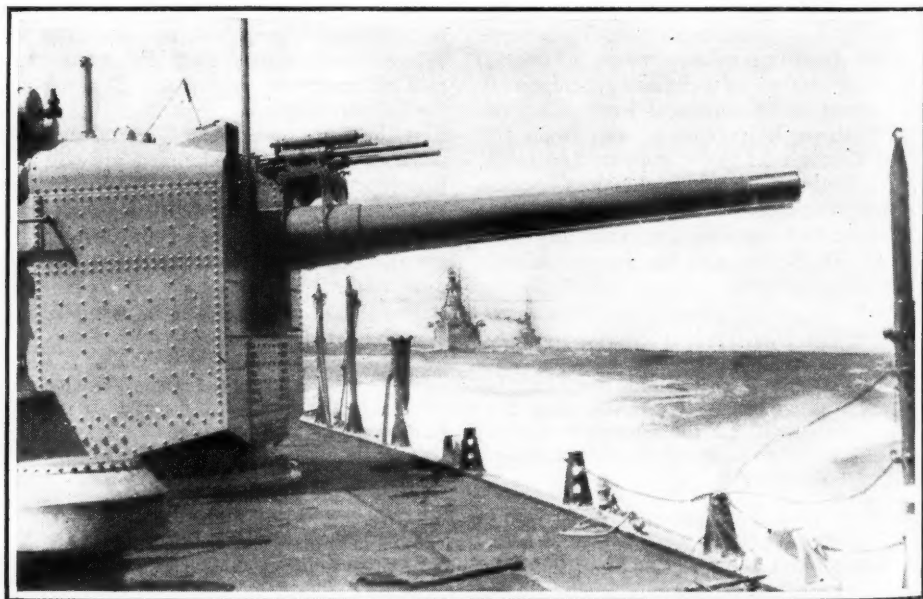
Captain, U. S. Navy

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*With the American refusal to approve the now discredited Anglo-French agreement, naval limitation once more comes to the fore. A naval building program is pending before the present Congress, which meets again next month. Cruisers form the center of that program, and on cruisers hangs the problem of further limiting navies. Great Britain needs many small cruisers. The United States needs not so many large ones. In the difference between these needs lies the difficulty of limitation. Captain Goss here outlines the problem, and points to a possible solution. His argument in effect presents the official American position in this major international question.—THE EDITOR.*

THE crux of the problem of limiting naval armament is the cruiser. Since the capital-ship ratio is the one thing definitely established by treaty, and since we are already required to call another conference in 1931 to decide what shall be done about capital ships when the present agreement expires in 1936, there is very little sentiment anywhere in favor of reopening the capital-ship question now.

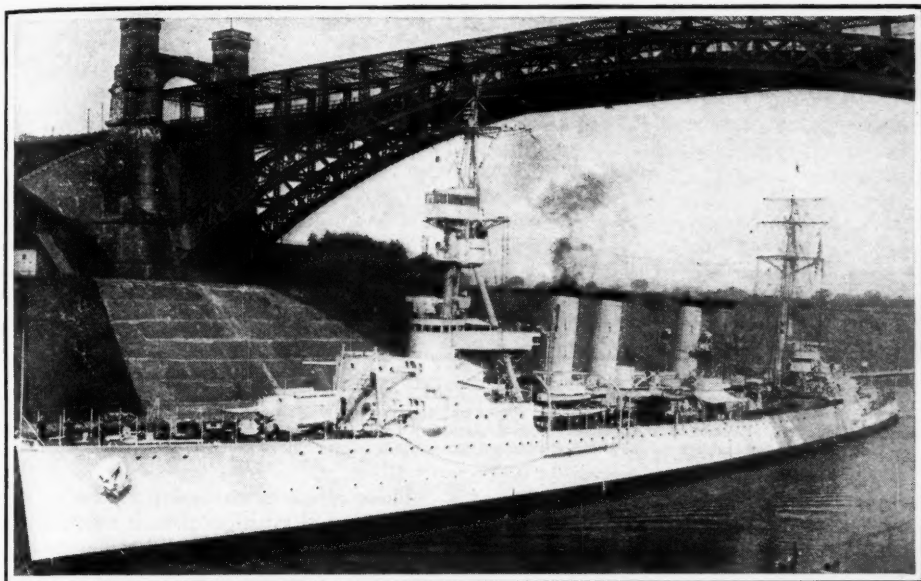
Cruisers are a type that all agree is necessary. The only difference of opinion concerns the number and size of these vessels, and the power of the guns they carry. A corollary of the capital-ship limitation at the Washington Conference was a somewhat definite description of type as to displacement, size of guns, and minimum age before specific vessels could be replaced. While the Washington Treaty established



THE SIX-INCH GUN, FOCAL POINT IN ARMAMENT LIMITATION DISCUSSIONS

This gun turret on the stern of the American light cruiser *Cincinnati* shows the heaviest armament now in use on our cruisers. In the distance at the right are the sister ships *Trenton* and *Milwaukee*.





CRUISING THROUGH THE KIEL CANAL IN GERMANY—THE U. S. S. MEMPHIS

The American Navy now has ten ships of this class, known as the 10,000-ton class although with full load their displacement is about 9,000 tons. Each of these ships carries twelve six-inch guns.

the limits of displacement and size of guns for cruisers, it did not fix any age limit.

Since all cruisers are sizable vessels, which do not deteriorate rapidly, the age limit of twenty years as applied to capital ships could naturally be applied to the cruiser type also. Another factor ordinarily used in defining the military value of a type of vessel is speed, particularly with reference to the cruiser type, since all modern cruisers are of decidedly greater speed than the older coal-burning classes.

Thus the normal definition of the modern cruiser type has come, through custom and experience, to be understood to be a vessel that is from 3,000 to 10,000 tons displacement, carries guns not over eight inches in caliber, has speed in excess of twenty-seven knots, and is less than twenty years old.

Naturally, there are different view-points with regard to classes of cruisers, depending upon what each naval power considers its own needs. These needs are partly determined by coast-lines, trade-routes, colonies or other possessions, as well as by harbors. And harbors may be either existing naval bases, at which vessels may refuel, seek shelter, and refit, or other ports conveniently located and adapted for conversion into naval bases. Actually, harbors that

have been developed for commercial purposes, with docks and wharfs, supplies, fuel, and commercial facilities for repair, are just about as valuable for naval purposes as harbors specifically developed under naval control.

As everyone knows who has studied the situation, Great Britain and Japan are fortunate in the possession of many

### Light Cruisers

Modern type vessels less than 20 years old  
speed greater than 27 knots

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Built, Building  
and Authorized—62 406810



#### JAPAN

Built, Building  
and Authorized—29 196205



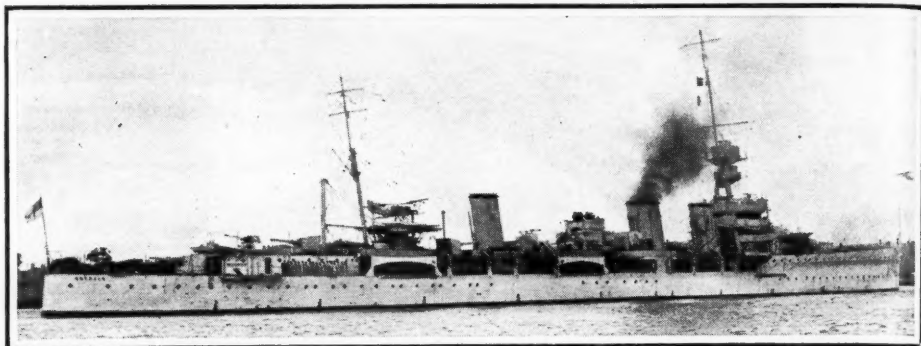
#### UNITED STATES

Built, Building  
and Authorized—18 135000



#### A COMPARISON OF CRUISER STRENGTH

This diagram showing the relative size of the cruiser establishment of the three leading naval powers includes ships now in use, under construction, or definitely planned for the future.



H. M. S. EMERALD, THE TYPE OF CRUISER NEEDED BY GREAT BRITAIN

This is a smaller ship than the American cruisers shown on the accompanying pages. It falls into what is known as the 7,500-ton class. Because of its wide-spread naval bases, Great Britain favors this sort of ship. With few naval harbors scattered throughout the world, the United States needs larger cruisers with a longer cruising radius.

harbors as well as a considerable number of naval bases, a number of which happen to be either near the Philippines or along the routes toward the Philippines and the Panama Canal. It is, then, not a matter of surprise that we find the British and Japanese, the former particularly, inclined to speak in terms of *numbers* of cruisers rather than in terms of that standard tonnage which was determined upon as the basis for type strength at the Washington Conference. It is also natural to find the British inclined toward smaller cruisers, which are cheaper to build and cheaper to operate from their network of bases and fueling stations which cover the globe.

#### *Why We Prefer Large Cruisers*

Our position is somewhat different. We not only lack possessions scattered throughout the world, in which our cruisers could base and refuel, but we possess no base in the Pacific beyond Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, and that is inadequate and not capable of great development. We are also actually prohibited by the Washington Treaties from establishing any bases in the Philippine Islands, or at Guam (which is the natural stepping-stone on the way to the Philippines), or in the natural harbors of the Aleutian Islands which could shorten the route to the Philippines by nearly 3,000 miles. Due to lack of facilities to combat the normal bad weather up there, such as radio compass stations and harbor facilities, the Aleutian Islands are not now tenable.

It is not unnatural, then, that we should prefer relatively larger cruisers than do the British or the Japanese.

These all seem natural preferences, due to the special position of each country and to what it may rightfully consider its best interests. It was not surprising, therefore, to find the British, at the Geneva Conference on naval limitation in 1927, advocating smaller cruisers and to find that they were supported in this contention by the Japanese—although each had already authorized and even laid down a considerable number of the largest size cruisers permitted.

One other contention of the British, while presumably considered equally desirable from her standpoint, did not seem quite so reasonable: that of the size of cruiser guns. The Washington Treaties definitely established a limit of eight inches for guns on cruisers. That seemed reasonable, for vessels of 10,000 tons or less could not conveniently carry larger guns. But there is another factor involved in this question of size of guns—those up to six inches in caliber may be mounted on merchant vessels, though it is hardly practicable to construct merchant vessels that are capable of supporting larger guns.

So here, indeed, is introduced a factor we need to consider, since some sort of limitation will undoubtedly be applied in time to cruisers while obviously no limitation can be applied to merchant vessels. If the guns that cruisers may carry are limited to the size and power of guns that merchant ships may carry, superior naval strength will automatically pass to the power possessing the greatest merchant marine.

Presumably the intent and desire of limitation is to establish some sort of balance of power, at least sufficiently limited

so that one country will not have predominant superiority over another. That is why the principle of the so-called 5-5-3 ratio was established, although actually this ratio is on the basis of ship tonnage alone and does not make any allowance for the admitted advantage Great Britain and Japan have in naval bases and well-located harbors.

So we see that the question of size of guns on cruisers is, after all, important, and one that could not be conceded without actually preventing the very nominal equality we are striving to prescribe. Great Britain possesses a merchant marine infinitely larger than ours, and if guns for cruisers were limited to a kind these merchant ships could carry, no equality in numbers or tonnage of actual cruisers—disregarding Britain's superiority in harbors and bases—would leave us anything like equal theoretical strength.

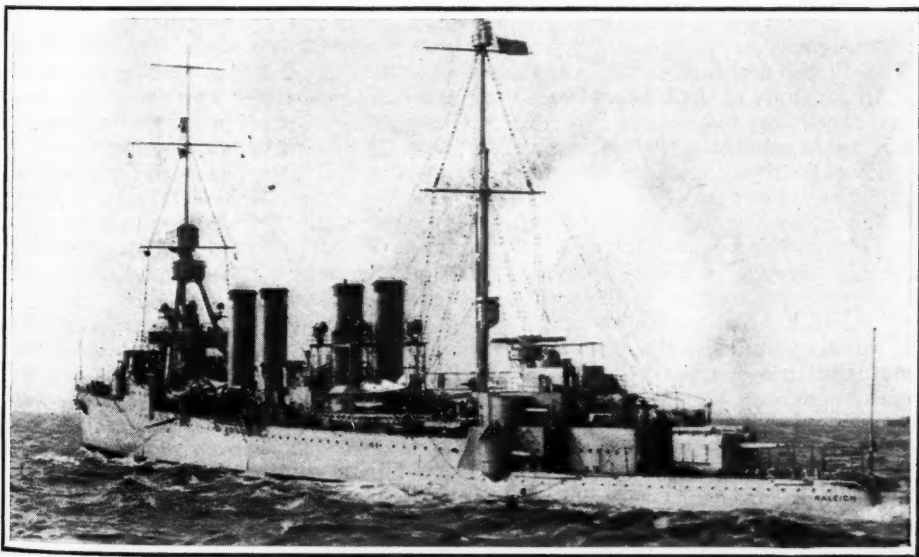
#### *Britain's Cruiser Proposals*

In addition to their capital-ship proposals, the British at Geneva first proposed a ratio limit on 10,000-ton cruisers only, with a limit of 7,500 tons and six-inch guns for all other cruisers. As this was too indefinite to be considered any real limitation, they later made an additional proposal regarding cruisers which aimed to limit 10,000-ton,

eight-inch-gun cruisers to twelve, with an age limit of eighteen years. All other cruisers were to be restricted to 6,000 tons, with six-inch guns and an age limit of sixteen years. This was accompanied by a further proposition that each power be permitted to retain its *present* cruisers, in addition to a tonnage limit on new construction that we considered unduly high.

These proposals would have, in effect, held us to a decidedly inferior strength. The British, as a result of their construction during the war and since the Washington Conference, have nearly forty of these smaller modern cruisers (thirty-nine to be exact), of nearly 200,000 tons aggregate. We have only the ten of the *Omaha* class, all our older cruisers being entirely obsolete according to modern standards. An age limit of sixteen years for the smaller cruisers would also enable the British to increase their margin of superiority, since they could begin replacing, by 1931, not less than eleven of their present cruisers.

To these proposals, since they would enable the British to keep all their effective cruiser strength and limit to six-inch guns, all future cruisers, except twelve 10,000-ton vessels, the representatives of the United States could not agree without committing us to a permanent inferior strength.



THE U. S. S. RALEIGH HEADING OUT INTO THE OPEN SEA

This stern view of the *Raleigh* shows another of the American 10,000-ton cruisers. At present two larger ships, the *Pensacola* and the *Salt Lake City* are being built by the navy. These ships, of an estimated gross tonnage of some 11,500 tons, will carry ten eight-inch guns instead of the twelve six-inch guns of the *Raleigh* class.

It should not be supposed, however, that the Geneva Conference was productive of no good or that it left us without hopes for reasonable limitation in the future. Since the main basis on which any substantial number of our people would agree is theoretical equality, the problem resolves itself down to an equality agreement that will, at the same time, allow each power some measure of latitude in building the classes of each type that it considers best adapted for its particular needs.

#### *Why Not Tonnage as a Basis?*

The real basis of these needs is a balanced fleet, a fleet so complete in types that it can be an efficient, effective organization. This, following the spirit of the Washington Conference, may be done by an agreement on type tonnage, the upper limits as to size of vessels and size of guns being already prescribed. In order, though, to meet each country's individual needs there should be a certain amount of flexibility in classes of each type. This would permit, for example, the British, also the Japanese, to build the smaller cruisers which they prefer, each making use of their well-located harbors, and at the same time it would permit us to build the larger cruisers necessary for us on account of our lack of these harbors; yet it would provide that the theoretical strength of each power should be about equal.

The Conference further disclosed that the British study of the number needed to balance their fleet and meet their particular needs was a number a little above sixty. A study of the situation made by the United States Navy shows that our need, to make our standardized capital-ship strength effective, is something above forty, with an aggregate tonnage of about 400,000. If we compute the tonnage of the sixty-odd cruisers which the British feel they need, we find this aggregates also about 400,000 tons.

Actually, then, it appears that we have a basis of agreement already in sight, which is merely to extend the principle of the 5-5-3 ratio, with its treaty provisions of size and gun limits already in effect for light cruisers, to an upper tonnage limit of about 400,000 tons. This would not disturb the present British and Japanese superior

position in bases; it would affect actual ships only; it would merely extend the principle already agreed upon in Washington so as to cover the cruiser type, with the same age limitation that already affects capital ships. It would permit us gradually to balance our fleet in cruiser strength by means of the navy building program; it would permit the British to continue with their present authorized program, and also allow them to replace their older cruiser units as they reach the age limit.

Such an agreement would permit us to proceed gradually with our program, since we would know definitely the end in view. It would save much money for the British, since they could utilize their present cruisers while gradually completing their present program. It would promote peace by assuring each Power a properly balanced fleet of sufficient strength to insure its protection and a proper respect for its interests. Such a proposal would have behind it the great moral force of extending the principle of the Washington Treaties; it would promote peace by a reasonable limitation of strength and a true balance of strength.

The Geneva Conference of 1927 promoted dissension, suspicion, and distrust because no basis of limitation was agreed upon; because restrictions were proposed that would give one power a great advantage. A restriction in size of guns was proposed that would have assigned the balance of power to the country possessing a superior merchant marine. This suspicion and unfriendliness seem likely to continue as long as the question of cruiser limits is unsettled. If, now, we extend the principles already established by treaty by fixing a cruiser tonnage limit that will permit each power to fulfil its needs within reasonable limits, would it not allay distrust and promote friendliness?

Added interest is given the subject in this country by the fact that the naval building program is still pending in Congress. Need of agreement on cruiser strength is emphasized by the fact that the authorizations at present proposed in Congress would still leave us well short of both the cruiser tonnage deemed adequate for us by responsible opinion and that already authorized by the British.



# Our Revolt Against Ugliness

BY HARLEAN JAMES

Executive Secretary, American Civic Association

UGLINESS has spread over the United States like a plague. It has been considered inevitable that every city should have its slums, every village its shantytown. We have only to recall that no man's land, neither urban nor rural, on the outskirts of most of the settlements in America, to be convinced that the outward push of population has worked no improvement in the native landscape.

It is hopeful, therefore, to see that valiant little band of rebels which has been waging war against ugliness for a generation to be gaining converts. The movement is becoming a revolution. A quarter of a century ago the band consisted of a few courageous souls who were willing to risk criticism by the multitude and ostracism by the hard-headed business men of the day in order to cry out in the wilderness their gospel of beauty. Now that big business finds beauty salable, the rebel band is becoming a conquering army.

Our three million odd square miles of land and water in the continental United States came to us with few marks of human use on the freshness of forests, streams, swamps, mountains, plains and deserts. What have we done with it?

We have cleared the forests to make way for farms and towns, as was necessary. We have cut the sheltering giants of pine, hemlock, spruce and hardwoods, leaving graveyards of gruesome stumps to tell that we have passed

that way. Nature given half a chance covers the scars left by the destructive hand of man, but when erosion attacks the slopes, carrying away the fertile topsoil, the damage is almost irreparable.

## *A Tin-Can Civilization*

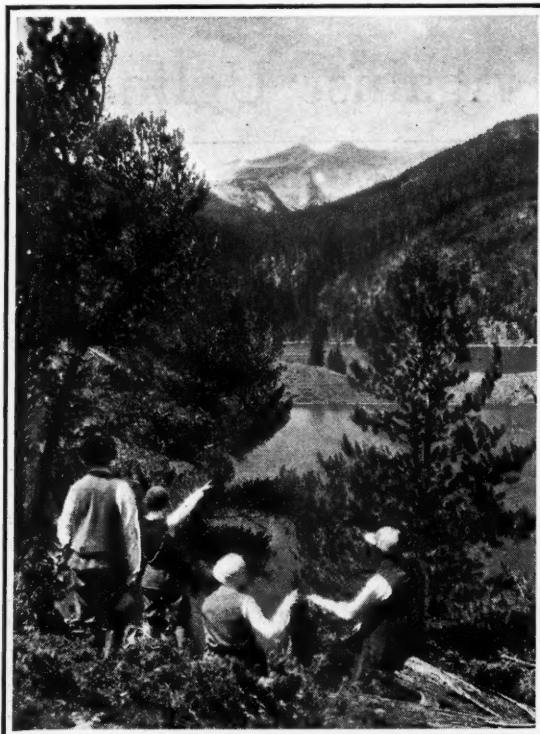
The tin can is the most ubiquitous evidence of civilization. At Taos, New Mexico, in the foreground of the picturesque *pueblo* which has been continuously inhabited for a thousand years, I observed a pile of discarded tin cans even before I caught sight of the strings of red peppers and an assortment of pelts drying in the sun. But the new day is dawning. It is now considered good business to dispose of the refuse of cities and towns, and we may look forward to a time when unused land will not be a repository for debris.

The greatest obstacle to universal beauty has been the psychology which reserved beauty for the prosperous and fortunate. Our Republic began with an inheritance of old-world philosophy which accepted poverty, sordidness and ugliness as necessary evils for part of our population. Fine declarations of equality were made, but our forefathers never glimpsed an ideal state which should one day provide for our people public parks and playgrounds equal in beauty to the private parks of kings and princes. Versailles was built and maintained from the *sous* of the



BEAUTY PLANNED AND ACHIEVED

A part of the extensive Westchester County parkway system, near New York City, developed from debris-strewn waste land.



down-trodden who lived in unspeakable hovels. The slums of London could almost be smelled from Buckingham Palace.

Carelessness and neglect incident to living and to industry and commerce have left repulsive refuse behind them, but worse still is the ugliness beyond belief we have achieved in our business places and homes. Recall, in thousands of small towns, the single Main Street bordered by buildings of awkward shape, with their false wooden fronts telling in huge letters the names of the vendors and the natures of their businesses. Not a tree, not a growing green thing in sight; concrete underfoot and tinroofed buildings on either side; sidewalks cluttered with wares and show windows filled with miscellaneous articles marked by ugly placards. These little towns are duplicated in the neighborhood markets of our larger cities. How many housewives in America today do their marketing in old homes converted by false fronts



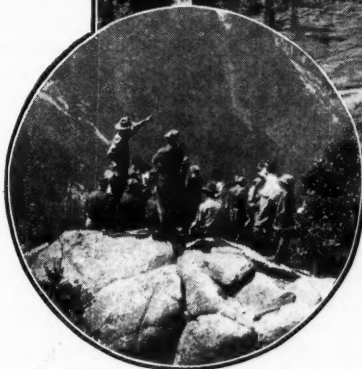
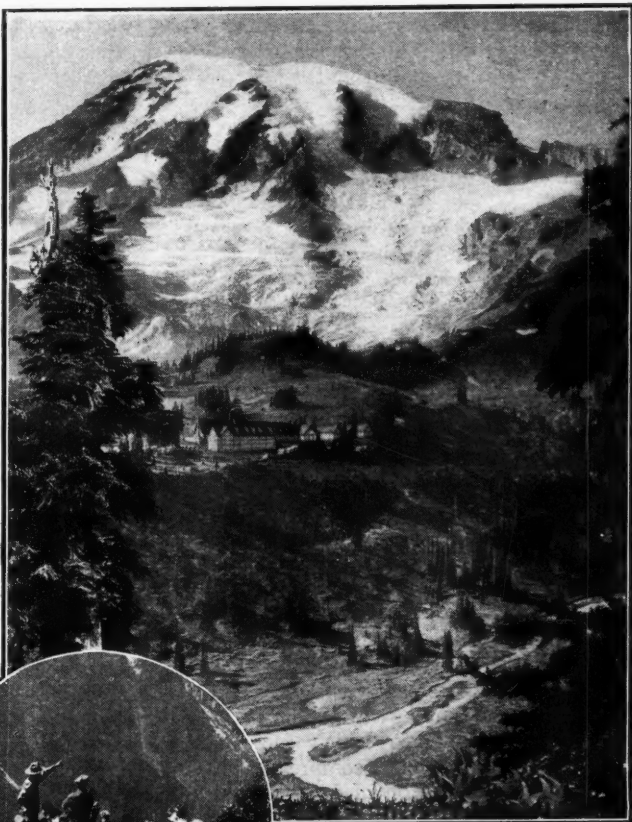
#### EVIDENCE OF CIVILIZATION—A GRAVEYARD OF GRUESOME STUMPS

The nation has awakened to the irreparable damage caused by wasteful development of our natural resources in the past. The lovely landscape in the Colorado Rockies pictured at the top of the page is unlikely to-day to meet the fate of the California redwood forest shown below it.

or "tax-payers" cheaply erected to serve new neighborhoods?

If our towns are ugly, what is to be said of our industrial cities? Who can traverse the blighted districts of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh or Omaha and not think that a San Francisco or Baltimore fire would be an act of Providence? Milltowns in New England and in the South vie with the manufacturing centers of the Middle West in ugliness. Who can admire Broadway below 50th Street in New York City? Buildings of all shapes and sizes, many deserted and plastered with tiers of lurid billboards, serve as mere racks for ridiculous caricatures and a restless, garish succession of legends worked out in flashing lights. When we consider the artistic results obtained by flood lighting beautiful buildings and monuments, this prostitution of the use of electricity seems appalling.

The beautiful skyline of New York City, with its soaring spires, is losing its unique appeal through the overlap of skyscrapers. Structures like the Woolworth Building in New York City and the Tribune Tower in Chicago inspire a breathless sense of beauty, but a solid phalanx of such towers over countless blocks would be a little discouraging even from an aesthetic point of view. Zoning set-back rules have mitigated the evils of excessive bulk and height of buildings and have given architects a chance to produce structures as beautiful in their way as the mediaeval Gothic cathedrals. Our democratic principles require us to treat alike all land-owners in any given district. Therefore, the only sane policy to follow



#### IN MOUNT RAINIER NATIONAL PARK

More than seven million acres of the nation's outstanding scenic areas are now preserved in national parks, and more than three million people visit them annually, exercising a potent influence on the taste of the communities to which they return.

in permitting the erection of very high buildings in the future will be to make sure that the bulk of human occupancy does not overload the land, that the towers shall set back as they rise and that sufficient open space shall be required to offset the excessive height. This policy would insure vistas and perspectives allowing buildings of transcendent beauty to be seen and to be appreciated.

The places in which most of us work and the places in which we purchase the necessities and luxuries of life are generally ugly. What about the places in which we live? Every city has some fine homes. Most cities also have monstrosities surviving from the incredible ugliness of the seventies and



**BEAUTY OR UGLINESS? NIGHT AT BROADWAY AND SEVENTH AVENUE IN NEW YORK CITY**

Critics of outdoor advertising cite the maze of flashing, colored lights of the Great White Way as a horrible example.

eighties, but in time these will be replaced. It is the miles upon miles of monotonous rows stretching like tentacles over acres of fair land, it is the tiers and tiers of ugly cubical buildings into which more and smaller rooms are being compressed, it is the countless repetition of jerry-built cottages and bungalows, like bright-colored toy blocks set in close rows by childish hands, that arouse us to rebellion. Scientific distribution of industry, commerce and residences would provide more comfortable, more convenient and more beautiful urban regions.

As if our ugly habitations and our ugly places of business were not enough to keep us submerged in gloom, wherever we go we are confronted by billboards, poster and painted, along the railways, along the highways, and in some localities even surmounting the buildings. All the United States has not fallen victim to the ugliness of advancing civilization. The needless excesses of ugliness described above have recruited the strength of the rebellious army. One sign of the successful campaign is found in the popularity of the parks of the country—national, state, county and municipal.

More than seven million acres of the nation's outstanding scenic areas are now preserved for all time in national parks. The proposed Great Smoky Mountains and

the Shenandoah parks will add a half million acres to this splendid total. More than three million people visit these parks every year as guests of the National Park Service and learn to know what the face of the landscape looked like before the white man's civilization brought ugliness to America. Such numbers of people, having gained an appreciation of lovely landscapes, exercise a potent influence on the taste of the communities to which they return.

Uncounted tourists travel through or seek recreation in the national forests where trees of great historic or scenic interest are preserved in their wilderness state. The government's lumbering and reforestation program safeguards these areas for future generations. Most lumber companies now practice modern forestry, and in future we may expect to see little cut-over land left to the destructive forces of erosion.

The scenic beauty of many state parks and forests is widely known. The Palisades Interstate Park, New York, is visited by millions every year. Turkey Run State Park is an oasis of several hundred acres of forested hills in the level plains of Indiana. Custer State Park preserves a miniature mountain range of such scenic value that President Coolidge accepted an invitation to spend his summer vacation there. Redwood State Park in California guards some of the finest of the stately sequoias. Nearly



every state has set aside scenic areas. The search for fine scenery has become a passion with the American people and not many unspoiled areas will be allowed to escape preservation.

Who does not know the name and fame of Golden Gate Park, San Francisco; Swope Park, Kansas City; Jackson and Lincoln Parks, Chicago; Cherokee Park, Louisville; Central Park, New York City; Prospect Park, Brooklyn; Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, and Rock Creek Park, Washington? Denver and Los Angeles maintain large parks far outside their boundaries. There are the great metropolitan park systems (of which the Boston network is the forerunner), great and small reservations in a city's environs, bound together by wide parkways. The Cook County Forest is preserving wooded land around Chicago. Essex County, New Jersey, has an elaborate network of parks. Westchester County, just north of New York City, is developing an unparalleled system of fine parks and buildings for the use of the people, rivaling the most beautiful of private country clubs.

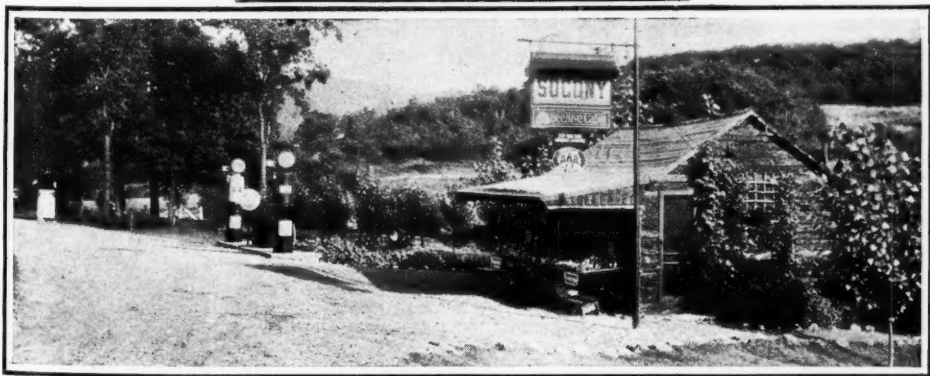
Parks are not the only sign that the American people are beginning to recognize and value beauty. In addition to millions authorized for the purchase and maintenance of parks for pleasure, they have authorized the expenditure of more millions for the erection of imposing

public buildings. We have many beautiful state houses, city halls, court houses, post offices and other public buildings. Modern school buildings and grounds often rival in beauty the handsome estates of wealthy men. The children who attend these schools are unconsciously receiving an education in good taste and beauty.

We have much for which to apologize in the mass production of homes. In this field many signs indicate the dawning of a new day. In California there are thousands of charming homes around San Francisco Bay, and in Santa Barbara, Pasadena, Los Angeles and San Diego, some on a grand scale but many of modest cost, made beautiful by good design and picturesque planting. Palos Verdes, near Los Angeles, promises to become a residential town entirely free from the tawdry and ugly. The Country Club District in Kansas City, Roland Park and Guilford in Baltimore, and countless other controlled subdivisions show what can be accomplished. Restrictions which would have been resented a half century ago are not only accepted but are sought for because they increase property values. We

think of individual liberty as meaning our own freedom, but we think of restrictions as pertaining to disagreeable things which other people are not permitted to do.

I have not mentioned decoration, nor painting, nor



**UGLINESS IS SUPPLANTING BEAUTY BY THE WAYSIDE**

Owners of refreshment stands and filling stations like that shown in the smaller picture, above, are discovering that good business and beauty are closely related. The Bee Hive Cabin, shown in the lower picture, won the 1928 first prize in the wayside stand improvement campaign financed by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

sculpture. These have their place, but the education of the American people to a recognition of beauty in landscape and architecture is the first step toward better living. The automobile is the instrument which has made possible the cosmopolitan education of the people to the value of beauty. With enough motor cars in the United States to carry every man, woman and child at the same time in a monster procession there can not be many human beings who do not "fare forth for to look and for to see." People become so accustomed to their surroundings that they fail to notice them. But after seeing other towns, other homes, other buildings, other streets, and other uses for trees and grass, they come home with new eyes.

What is the machinery for accomplishing our transformation from ugliness to beauty? The National Park Service has introduced nearly 15,000,000 people (counting repeaters) to the national parks since it was created in 1916. The U. S. Forest Service has steadily fostered an appreciation of forest growth and a love of forest scenery. The Department of Agriculture, through its bulletins and its state and county agents, has done much to introduce beauty into farms, homes and to promote improved roads, schools and community buildings. The Public Roads Bureau is responsible, directly and indirectly, for the two-hundred-thousand-mile program of highways which will be

paved within our day. In the Department of Commerce, the Division of Building and Housing has educated millions of citizens in the economic and engineering benefits of city planning and zoning with an inevitable by-product of beauty.

In local governments we have the work of park commissions and departments, art commissions and juries, and city planning and zoning commissions. Millions are being voted for such improvements as the Lake Front development and Wacker Drive in Chicago, and the highway, park, and public building program of Saint Louis. Nearly five hundred cities and towns are now engaged in some form of city planning and zoning. The art juries are our most effective defense against monstrosities in sculpture. In a charming college town of Colonial tradition there stands in the quaint old square a memorial gift of an iron fireman saving a child. An art jury might have persuaded the donors to purchase a work of art. Many beautiful bridges owe their excellence of design to art juries.

We have accepted the principle of architectural control in design of public buildings and we are beginning to realize the vast possibilities for beauty in the architectural control of private buildings. The production of picturesque Santa Barbara after the earthquake of 1925 was made possible only by effective architectural control. By the year 1950 architectural commissions



POSSIBLE COMMERCIAL SLUMS OF TOMORROW

Detroit is struggling to distribute its traffic—why not distribute its buildings as the model city of the future is expected to do, asks the city planning expert. Its City Hall, in the center of the picture above, is lost in the shadows.



ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL STREETS IN THE SOUTH

Tree-lined Monument Avenue in Richmond, Va., which boasts statues of Stuart, Jackson, Lee and Jefferson Davis.

will be accepted as a part of our democratic control in the interest of all.

Hard-headed business men of to-day are investing huge sums in beauty. The Pennsylvania and New York Central railway stations in New York City, the Union Station in Washington, and many business buildings, represent investments in beauty as well as in usefulness. Many great industrial corporations have built handsome factories set in landscaped grounds. Progressive real estate men have discovered that beauty commands a premium.

In some States billboards have been legally banished from state highways. In others bills are pending to control the use of private property adjacent to highways.

At best these beginnings are meager. If we finish the task we have begun before the year 2000 we should be able to see the city of the future. The portals of entry by rail (if rails are still used) will be marked by impressive temples, possibly transcending the Pennsylvania Station in New York City, and set in plaza parks, perhaps marked, as at Kansas City, with an inspirational memorial. The unsightly slopes of depressed tracks will be planted in trailing roses or other vines. River fronts will be developed by design, with beautiful bridges and restful park areas. The highways approaching the city will be divided into tree-bordered pleasure boulevards and com-

mercial roads, each fitted for its purpose. Each part of the city will be assigned to its most appropriate use and so will be an aesthetic as well as a social and economic unit. Uneven distribution leads to congested knots and excessive land values in favored locations. In the new city the entire down-town sections will be kept in a high degree of improvement. There will be no blighted and deserted districts forsaken for sky-scraping centers. High buildings will have sufficient land around them to promote comfortable and convenient occupation. Solid masses of soaring edifices cut by narrow streets, with little access to air and light will be obsolete. Many industries will have been removed from congested business centers to neighboring towns.

Residential districts of the future will have decentralized shopping and marketing centers located in well-designed buildings surrounded by trees and adequate parking areas. Convenient loading platforms for the handling of merchandise will be placed in the rear. Several such shopping centers have already been built in the Country Club District of Kansas City.

Traveling up and down the highways of the land and observing the contrasts between the ugly and the beautiful, the Great American Public is glimpsing this city of the future, and slowly swelling the ranks of the rebel army in its revolt against ugliness.

# America's Answer to the Rubber Monopoly

IN THE year 1519, Spanish explorers in South America found the Indian children playing with bouncing balls, black in color and made from the juice of a strange tree. This elastic substance, from which a suit of waterproof clothes was sent in 1759 to the King of Portugal, was rubber.

In 1800, Brazil was the only country engaged in rubber manufacture, and shoes, water-bottles, powder-flasks, and similar objects were gradually obtaining favor. In 1839, Charles Goodyear discovered the "vulcanization" process which renders rubber impervious to temperature changes, and thereby its world-wide use was made possible. By 1891 the first clincher tire had appeared and the wheels of progress, as well of vehicles, began to roll more swiftly.

Three-quarters of the world's rubber output is consumed in this country, and three-quarters of the world's rubber manufacturing takes place in the United States. Automobiles crowd our highways, and in most States the entire population could be transported simultaneously by motor. For this reason news that Britain's Stevenson Act, devised in order to restrict the output and raise the price of rubber from her producing colonies, will be abandoned by November has aroused considerable interest on our side of the Atlantic.

There was great anxiety experienced by

American manufacturers in 1922 when the British rubber planters of Malaya, Ceylon, and other Asiatic colonies—who were producing well over half the world's supply of crude rubber—agreed to restrict their output and thus to subject the United States to a severe shortage of the precious commodity.

This action on the part of the British planters was due to a considerable drop in rubber prices following the war, to as low as 13 cents a pound in 1922; and the method selected was the so-called Stevenson plan, whereby a sliding scale of export duties on rubber was set up and the planters were assigned quotas to export. Exports exceeding the quota were not forbidden, but were heavily taxed. This scheme met with the full approval of the British Colonial Office, and rubber prices advanced to

as high as \$1.23 a pound in 1925.

The need of an American-controlled rubber supply to feed our native industries was manifest, and much thought was devoted to the matter by officials at Washington and by private industrialists themselves. Of the latter, Henry Ford and Harvey S. Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, took an especially responsible view of the situation and are now seeing it through.

Mr. Firestone expressed his ideas in a letter of December 15, 1926, saying, "We

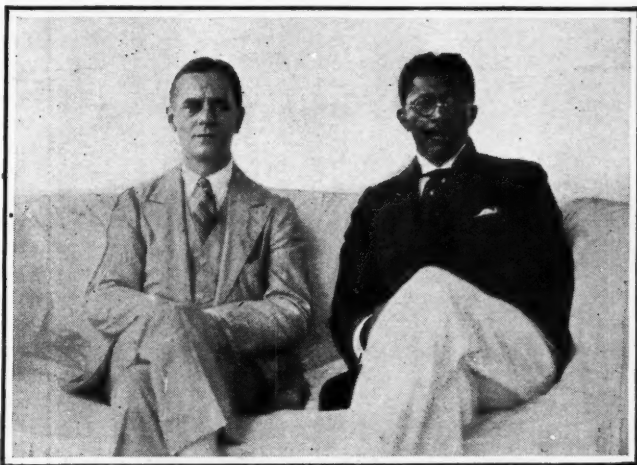


A TAPPED RUBBER-TREE SHOWING INCISION  
MADE INTO THE BARK



are continuing our efforts to have rubber grown under American control and feel we are making fine progress. Two of our directors, with engineers and other men experienced in rubber-growing, spent six months in studying the rubber-growing conditions in British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies; also investigated the comparative practicability of growing rubber in the southern islands of the Philippines, providing proper legislation could be secured which would encourage and protect large capital investments. They then went to Liberia to lay plans for the development of the 1,000,000 acres secured under a ninety-nine year lease. This lease has just been ratified by the Liberian Legislature."

In 1923 the attention of Mr. Firestone was attracted to Liberia, a Negro republic on the west coast of Africa, as a possible source of rubber supply, and by 1926 he leased 1,000,000 acres of land through a subsidiary, the Firestone Plantations Company. These lands were to be selected by the lessee, the company to begin paying rent on at least 20,000 acres at six cents an acre within five years. Other agricultural operations may be engaged in besides rubber planting, and the company is en-

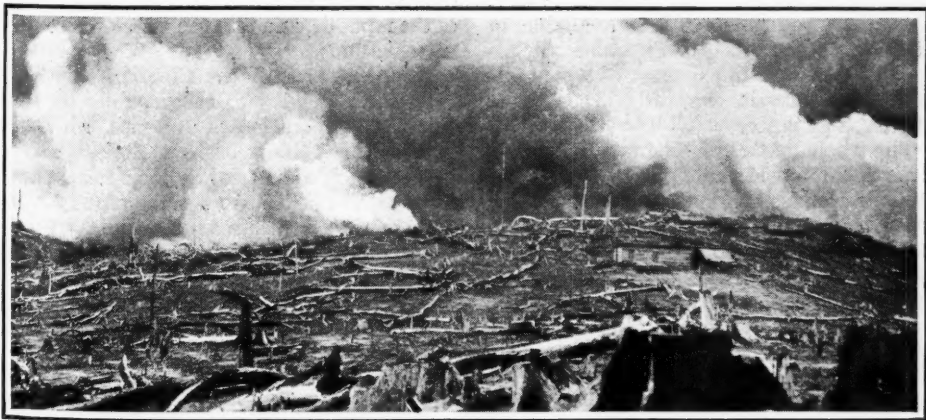


HARVEY S. FIRESTONE, JR., AND PRESIDENT KING OF LIBERIA

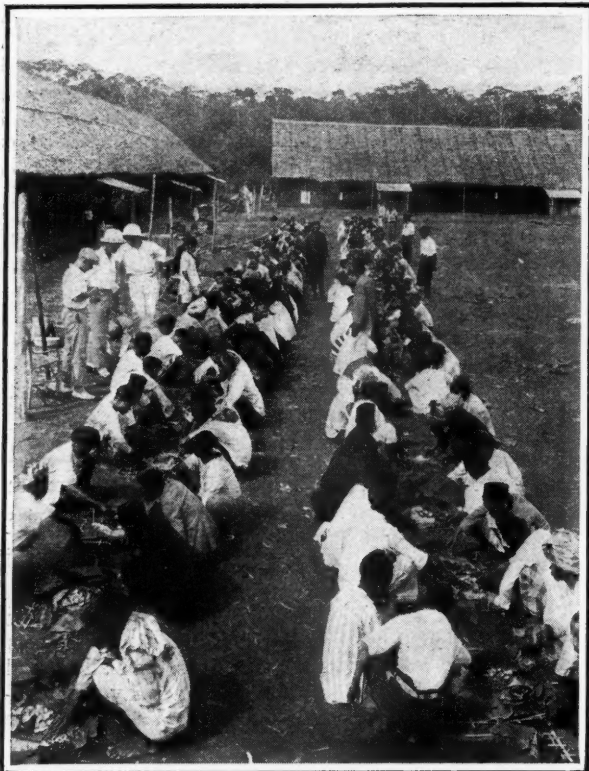
On the veranda of the Executive Mansion at Monrovia last spring, when young Mr. Firestone was visiting the rubber plantations of which he is vice-president. Great things are expected of his company's concession, which is becoming increasingly productive.

titled to the use of all natural resources found on the lands leased.

Highways, railway lines, and all needful means of communication may be constructed by the Firestone interests. The concession is practically exempt from internal taxation, and machinery and supplies are freed from import duties. After six years the company will, however, pay to Liberia 1 per cent. of the value of all commercial products shipped out of the country. If operations are suspended for three years, the lease is to lapse; but this is extremely unlikely, for both production and export on a limited scale are already



CLEARING LAND FOR RUBBER PLANTING IN LIBERIA



**RUBBER-PLANTATION WORKERS AT A HOLIDAY FEAST**

Typical laborers on a native holiday on one of the Sumatra plantations of the United States Rubber Company.

under way. A radio station in Firestone's Akron factory is now in nightly communication with a similar Firestone station in Liberia, both stations freely sending and receiving messages to and from each other. There are no cable stations available in Liberia, and according to Firestone officials it is the only case in existence of a corporation maintaining its own radio system over so great a distance.

The whole matter of Liberian rubber has come in for considerable criticism, and last summer Henry A. Junod, president of the International Society for the Protection of Natives, protested to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The Commission was asked to investigate the transaction between Firestone and the Liberian government, and to watch its effects upon native labor. Liberia is an independent country, in name at least, and a member of the League of Nations, so that it is unlikely that the League will take

seriously the challenge of Mr. Junod. The Mandates Commission is not charged with the duty of inquiring into the status of all the colored peoples of Africa.

Raymond Buell, of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association, also attacked the project at the Institute of Politics last summer, on the ground that the Liberian government is pledged to "encourage and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." This, he fears, will lead to forced labor as under the plantation systems in South Africa, the Portuguese colonies, the Belgian Congo, and similar spots. The word of the native chiefs is law, and the Firestone company—it is charged—is to recompense the government and the chiefs for labor supplied to the undertaking.

These charges have been denied by Mr. Firestone, who declares that all native laborers in the concession are on regular pay-rolls and as free to leave their work as are artisans in the factories at Akron, Ohio. The native labor is

eventually expected to exceed 300,000 men, recruited from the uncivilized hinterland with its tribal population of close to 2,000,000 souls. About 50,000 Europeanized coastal Negroes dominate the government of the republic, and rule the interior through the chieftains.

Another phase of the Liberian situation is a loan extended to the republic by the Finance Corporation of America, with the National City Bank of New York as fiscal agent, which consists of \$5,000,000 at 7 per cent. Part of this loan is to be used for the construction of a harbor at Monrovia, the Liberian capital, which is required under an agreement with the Firestone interests.

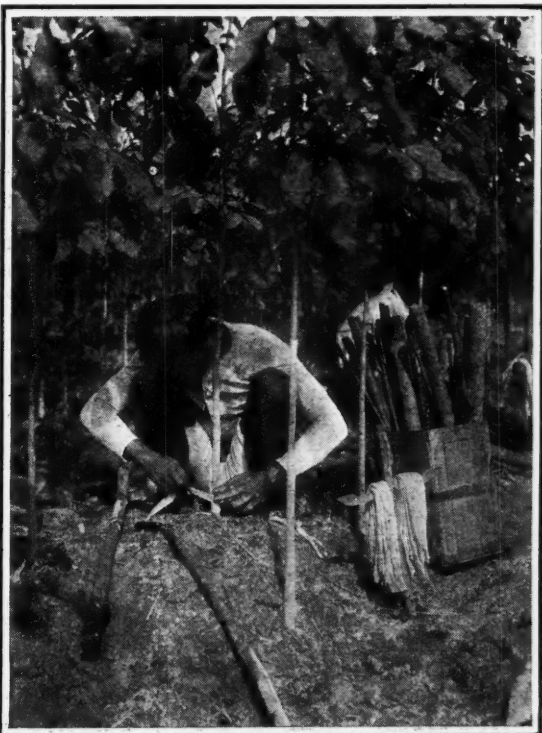
Not to be outstripped by his old friend Mr. Firestone, Henry Ford has added rubber to his many other interests and has entered the South American field with all the vigor which Firestone showed in tackling Liberia. Brazil is the Ford rubber field, and the state of Para has granted

him approximately 3,700,000 acres on the river Tapajos, a tributary of the Lower Amazon. In addition, land has been purchased from individual owners, making the grand total anywhere from 4,500,000 to as high as 6,000,000 acres.

The Brazilian federal government looks upon the Ford undertaking with a benevolent eye, and many of the supplies needful to the work are freed from import duties by special legislative amendment. The exact terms of the concession granted by the state of Para are still unknown to the public, except that a certain amount of rubber must be planted yearly. There has been some criticism of the deal in Brazil, and last May a Para newspaper, *Folha de Norte*, published a series of attacks on the whole scheme, charging that the Ford control of the lands granted him was absolute and free of any Brazilian jurisdiction. This, however, is said to represent political attacks by an opposition organ on the existing state administration.

The company itself is named the Companhia Ford Industrial do Para, incorporated in Para in October, 1927; and Edsel Ford, son of the Detroit manufacturer, is president. Most of the land acquired is now virgin jungle, and settlements must be made, livable conditions for white men attained, and the complicated processes of production must be undertaken. No statement has so far been made by Ford as to the rapidity with which to expect concrete results from this great investment, but at least his plans have taken definite form and are now under way. One of the directors of the company is Jorge Dumont Villares, a concessionaire whose interests were bought by Ford. He was one of the Brazilian officials to accompany delegates from the United States Department of Commerce, who in 1923 were investigating Brazilian rubber lands. He is well versed in the local situation, and will doubtless take a leading part in the exploitation of the great tracts now under Ford's control.

Planting on the Ford tracts has not yet begun, but the Firestone company had planted 21,000 acres by the end of 1927.



Photograph from the United States Rubber Company

#### GRAFTING ON ONE-YEAR-OLD RUBBER SEEDLINGS

A bud from a "mother" tree of proved high-yielding capacity is grafted on the young tree's stock and the wound wrapped in a paraffin-soaked bandage.

By 1930 the Firestone rubber will be an important factor, and by 1935 it will have to be reckoned with in the world rubber situation.

The Philippine Islands are suited to rubber production on a large scale. This was the opinion of the late Gov.-Gen. Leonard Wood, who wrote in his 1926 report that the "soil and climatic conditions are excellent, and there is believed to be enough suitable land in the Philippines to supply in great part, if not wholly, the rubber needs of the United States."

But unfortunately there are a number of factors which at present preclude the possibility of any successful exploitation of this region. Chinese coolie labor, brought in en masse, would probably be necessary for clearing the dense jungles, and the Philippine immigration laws forbid such action. Furthermore, possible independence of the islands would serve to frighten away non-Filipino investors who dread the way their interests might be treated in such a

contingency. In this connection Mr. Firestone has remarked: "If the Philippines are to be developed, capital must have assurance that it will be properly protected, which the present political situation does not assure." Should the islands gain their freedom, he added, "our investment then would be at the mercy of the Philippine government, and I do not think you could get large investors in there on that basis."

But the greatest obstacle to the successful development of rubber plantations is the Filipino land laws, which favor small native-owned rubber plantations rather than the control of large tracts by foreign corporations. These laws are designed to prevent holdings of more than 2,500 acres. They do not prevent the purchase of larger tracts from private owners, but in the best rubber areas most of the land is public-owned. Both Carmi Thompson, President Coolidge's special commissioner, in 1926, and Gov.-Gen. Henry L. Stimson, in 1928, have urged some revision of these land laws in favor of a few large estates for the general promotion of the rubber industry. At present there are but four rubber plantations in the islands, and all are under the 2,500-acre limit. The United States, Firestone, and Goodyear companies investigated the Philippines and then went elsewhere. Conditions were believed to be too unstabilized for any steady progress there.

When crude rubber is high-priced and hard to get, reclaimed rubber is utilized by the great rubber manufacturers in such products as hose, gaskets, matting, footwear, insulated wires, and the like. The reclaimed product is made from worn-out manufactured rubber goods, but much of the "life" and "nerve" of the crude rubber is lost and the wearing qualities are diminished by the chemical and mechanical processes involved in the transformation.

During 1921 and 1922 the American manufacturers used less reclaimed rubber, for crude rubber prices were extremely low due to overproduction in the British colonies. But with the passage of the Stevenson Act and its resulting restrictions on production and rise in prices, reclaimed rubber became of increasing importance. In 1926 there was 45 per cent. as much reclaimed rubber consumed in the United States as there was crude rubber, while in 1922 the

ratio had been only 19 per cent. In 1917, when the World War made crude rubber scarce, reclaimed rubber amounted to nearly 57 per cent. of the crude rubber consumed.

At present the most important fields of American rubber endeavor are the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya, which for some years have been engaged in heavy production. As early as 1910 the United States Rubber Company obtained a concession in Sumatra, and to-day it owns 104,100 acres on that island. The same company now owns 30,821 acres in Malaya, which field it entered in 1920, and by the close of 1927 it had invested a total sum of \$33,113,236 in its Eastern plantations. Of its acreage, 87,000 are planted and 54,000 are actually bearing as the result of persistent effort. In 1927 the United States Rubber's production was 25,677,000 pounds, an average of 475 pounds per acre tapped, out of a total of 35,484,997 pounds of American-grown rubber produced that year. It has always stood supreme among our operating concerns, and continues to do so at present.

The Goodyear Rubber Plantations Company obtained its first Sumatran concession in 1906, and now has under its control nearly 50,000 acres there. Altogether, American concerns operate more than 295 square miles in Sumatra, and 1,800 acres in Java. In British Malaya around 50,000 acres are under American control.

The Dutch East Indian possessions are held on long-term leases, but do not carry with them any great powers of sovereignty. The labor is of the coolie type, bound by contracts for several years. The Dutch government has never attempted to restrict rubber production within its domains, and conditions under its flag have been uniformly favorable to capitalistic speculation.

With these Eastern plantations in full production, with the Firestone Liberian concession gradually swinging into line, with the immense resources of Henry Ford in Brazil as yet untapped, and with a possible field in the Philippines, the future of American-grown rubber looks bright. Time and patience will be needed before America becomes even nearly self-supporting, but the necessary steps have been taken by our leading industrial concerns and progress is constantly being made.



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# A Revolution in Retailing

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BY MERRYLE STANLEY RUKEYSER

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**B**USINESS is taking a leaf from modernistic literature and is beginning to engage in debunking. At present, the debunking is being applied most assiduously on a grand scale to the field of retail selling.

One nationwide merchandising organization, which recently added a chain of stores to its catalogue activities, is consciously seeking to break down the older traditions of retailing, and to strip the cult of its bizarre rituals.

For example, it is eschewing the ancient game of marking up merchandise and then marking it down again to satisfy the bargain instincts of the indiscriminate. It offers no free deliveries, but adds a fee for such extra service. It sells no bait merchandise below cost in order to attract customers. It gives no free entertainment, no gratuitous afternoon teas, and no literary stimulus. It avoids the shopping centers, and instead goes far out into the residential or industrial districts on main public highways, where it can offer abundant parking space to motorized Americans.

This particular enterprise, according to its sponsors, rests its appeal primarily on its ability to give genuine value. Its strength lies in the economies of quantity buying. To this advantage is added the savings from a new technique of store administration, which, it is asserted, has significantly reduced operating expenses. This chain of department stores believes its clerks are half again as productive as those of ordinary establishments — partly because its stores specialize in heavier merchandise, running into substantial sums, and partly because, removed from the shopping centers, they attract buyers rather than lookers.

The chain department store, long advocated by theorists, has actually come into being this year. Sears, Roebuck & Company, the mail-order house, with more than 10,000,000 catalogue customers, has added

to its merchandising agencies 170 stores of varying size, of which at least thirty are full-size department stores.

Likewise, Montgomery Ward & Company, the second largest mail-order house, which earlier in the year announced its intention of opening 1,500 stores, will have more than one-tenth that number in use by the end of this calendar year. By the end of the summer, it already had 130 stores in operation. Sears, Roebuck & Company, purpose to invade chiefly the larger cities, avoiding cities of fewer than 30,000 population. Ward, on the other hand, will ultimately go into very much smaller towns, and will, through actually displaying its wares there, give an additional stimulus to the buying impulses of the rural classes—to which the mail-order houses have primarily appealed.

## *The Disappearing Catalogue Buyer*

The motor-car and good roads bring the farmers readily to the nearby towns, and the mail-order house wishes to be represented there. Its executives recognize that the new stores will to some extent compete with the catalogues of their own company, but they believe that they will also compete with the catalogues of rivals. Incidentally, about four-fifths of the Sears customers also get the Ward catalogues, and the two houses actively compete.

In spite of the fact that the common stocks of Montgomery Ward & Company, and Sears, Roebuck & Company, have proved bonanzas to their holders in recent years, the mail-order industry as a whole has actually languished. Its closest students on the inside believe that it reached its peak in 1920. The catalogue appeals primarily to farmers and farm hands, and in the last eight years the farm population has been dwindling. According to the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, the following net flow of population from the farms to the cities has taken place:

<i>During Year</i>	<i>Persons Leaving Farms for Cities and Towns</i>	<i>Persons Leaving Cities and Towns for Farms</i>	<i>Net Movement from Farms to Cities and Towns</i>
1922.....	2,000,000	880,000	1,120,000
1924.....	2,075,000	1,396,000	679,000
1925.....	1,900,000	1,066,000	834,000
1926.....	2,155,000	1,135,000	1,020,000
1927.....	1,978,000	1,374,000	604,000

## THE RECENT FLOW OF RURAL POPULATION TO CITIES AND TOWNS

This table gives the key to Sears, Roebuck's new policy. Its management believes that the farm population is destined to stand still or decline further. Accordingly, there can be no expansion in sales in rural districts except under a rising standard of living among farmers. Numerical growth is plainly in the cities.

Therefore the management, recognizing its assets in a well established name and extraordinary buying opportunities, has decided to conform its own expansion programs to American sociological dynamics. Its chain of stores is a conscious attempt to win the patronage of the urban millions. Its original tests indicate that *homo Americanus* in town and country respond to similar merchandising appeals.

*Now Comes the Chain Department Store!*

A third chain of department stores is in contemplation. The Hahn Department Stores, a promotion headed by Lew Hahn, formerly active head of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, is in the process of taking over established stores in widely scattered urban centers. At first, the new management will proceed slowly in effecting changes, but ultimately the units are to be subjected to centralized management and buying, in accordance with modern chain-store principles. Because of the somewhat specialized character of department stores, which are influenced by local conditions, the management will be supervised through regional directors, who will report to the home office.

The difference between the Hahn project and the Sears, Roebuck—Ward expansion is that the latter concerns do not take over established units, but open up their own stores and start at scratch. The sharp increases in the total sales thus far of these two mail-order houses are mainly ascribable to the activities of the new stores, rather than to an expansion of the catalogue business.

These newer department store chains are,

broadly speaking, in line with the revolution in retailing which Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, and other authorities have long advocated. The older groups of department stores, including the May Company, Gimbel Brothers, and the Associated Dry Goods Company, are associations of affiliated stores, each of which has considerable local autonomy. They do not embody fully the chain principles of centralized buying and management, although in major policies they are subject to centralized control.

Of course the chain department store is only one latter-day application of the chain idea, which for decades has proved successful in the five- and ten-cent store, general merchandise, drug and cigar store field. Woolworth, Kresge, and J. C. Penney—to single out a few of the illustrious chain store pioneers—did the yeoman's work of pathfinding, and they proceeded slowly.

The rapid chain-store expansion upon which Montgomery Ward, has set out is an attempt to accomplish in three years what some of the older chains did in thirty. But the Ward management feels that the pioneers did the necessary preliminary laboratory work, and cleared the forests of obstacles. Successful chain-store technique, subject to change in details, has been evolved, and the newcomers can benefit from the experience of others and proceed quickly.

*What the Investor Thinks*

Both companies are financing the expansion out of earnings. It is understood that the total organization expenses of opening all the new Sears stores will be written off out of this year's earnings. Accordingly, the next income statement will really tend to hide part of the new earning power. The deductions will be abnormally heavy, and besides the newer stores will not have shown their full earning power.

Both the Sears and Ward managements seem fully satisfied with the results thus far shown by their new stores, and outside

security buyers at the Stock Exchange, sharing their optimism, have made both stocks leading footballs of speculation. Montgomery Ward, early this year, sold as low as 117 and it recently soared to 267.

Sears, which at the beginning of the year had been capitalizing earnings more liberally in the market price, sold as low as 82 $\frac{1}{8}$  and recently sold as high as 157. Like the chain-store stocks, these securities recently sold about twenty-five times earnings. It is evident that at their peak prices both securities were discounting expected improvement in the future, rather than reflecting present values.

The older chains—consisting of small units—have during this same period been increasing their relative place in their own fields. In the retail grocery business, for example, the Kroger Company, the second largest chain, has been expanding at a prodigious pace by absorbing other smaller chains. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, the leader, opens its own stores. It now has more than 17,000 of them, and does a larger gross annual business than the Pennsylvania Railroad.

#### *Law-Makers Take Notice*

The significant new fact about the older chains has been that they have recently been penetrating hitherto neglected areas of the South and West. They have also been going into smaller cities. In their aggressive and somewhat merciless stampede for larger volume, they have been irritating smaller merchants, who had begun to think they had vested rights in the business of their own community.

Usually the little man, harassed if not beaten by the new competition, has sought relief through political channels. The chain-store invasion has accordingly already become a sizable political issue. In the last session of Congress, Senator Smith W. Brookhart obtained the passage of a resolution instructing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the methods of chain systems. Thus far the investigation has been only in its preliminary stages and has been devoid of sensational disclosures. In his resolution, Senator Brookhart indicated that "from 1921 to 1927 the retail sales of all chain stores have increased from approximately 4 per cent. to 16 per cent. of all retail sales." The resolution also referred to the fact that "the consolidation of such chain stores may

result in the development of monopolistic organizations in certain lines of retail distribution."

Other legislative thrusts have already been made at the chain stores, particularly in State legislatures. North Carolina has levied a special tax on organizations with more than five stores in that State. Although the Maryland legislature rejected a similar bill, a court in that State has adopted one.

#### *Rôle of the Small Merchant*

Small merchants who cannot stand the gaff will unquestionably be befriended by politicians. The war between the old order of inefficiency and the new order of scientific merchandising will doubtless become intensified. Yet some chain-store executives believe that owners of individual stores who adopt more efficient methods will be able to meet the new competition. Chain stores are necessarily standardized, whereas the local merchant can better sense the idiosyncrasies of his own community.

Dependent largely on economies of large scale buying, chain stores are best adapted to deal in stable merchandise. They do not find it profitable to load up with style merchandise, which is subject to the whims of milady's rapidly changing taste. Where style, personality and individuality count, the talented merchant on his own has advantages which will retain a place for him in the economic sun.

The United States Department of Commerce is actively engaged in research as to methods which will strengthen the single unit merchant in competition with the chains. W. H. Whiting, Herbert Hoover's successor as Secretary of Commerce, in discussing this subject, told me:

"I think that there is a place for the small unit in the future business of the country. I know, however, that the small man feels apprehensive at present because of the encroachment of chains and of large scale manufacturers. Examination discloses, however, that there are territories which the large companies can not profitably cultivate. We believe that the smaller man has a rôle to play in the future if he will heighten his efficiency.

"Big business has learned that it has been necessary to change its methods in accordance with changing conditions, and little business must do the same if it is to be successful. The Department of Commerce,

through cost studies, through critical examination of existing methods, and through acting as an exchange of information, purposes to help the small business man heighten his efficiency."

### *The Chain-Store Proprietor Speaks*

In commenting on the effect of the rise of the chains on independent merchants, Hubert T. Parson, president of the F. W. Woolworth Company, which has been pre-eminently successful in saving a large ratio of gross earnings for net, remarked:

"The successful chain systems are a detriment only to small merchants who are asleep. They hurt only stores whose owners are in a rut and who won't try to get out. Enterprising merchants welcome the advent of model, up-to-date stores of chain systems in their cities, for the chains are scientific merchandisers, and they bring new ideas, which the others can apply to their own enterprises. Accordingly, there have been numerous instances, particularly in the Southwest, in which local merchants have banded together and in full-page newspaper advertisements have said: 'Welcome, Woolworth!' when we opened stores in their communities.

"Dry-goods men who deal in higher priced merchandise have come into our stores, studied our methods of presenting merchandise and arranging fixtures, and adapted our innovations to their own purposes. We are glad to have them do so. The small corner groceryman likewise can benefit from observing the up-to-date methods of grocery chains. The public is not complaining about chain-store growth, because chains give slightly lower prices and fresh merchandise. The chief kicks have come from unprogressive business men."

In seeking to hearten the proprietors of individual stores, Charles R. Walgren, president of Walgren Company, a chain of more than 200 drug stores, writes in *The Nation's Business* that, "There is, and will be, ample room for the live, progressive independent merchant using modern methods in location, the selection of stock, arrangement of fixtures, training of personnel and cooperation with other independents to mutual advantage.

"A chain group is none too mobile. It can not be extended successfully into certain regions. Although large cities are the natural fields for chain stores, the wideawake independent merchant who oper-

ates his business in a scientific manner need have no fear of being forced out of congested retail trade areas."

Other chain executives assert that the country is too full of merchants, with one for every fifty consumers. If the price of greater efficiency in merchandising is the extinction of some slovenly storekeepers, these men feel that the country can afford to pay the price. As the head of one large enterprise said, "Our activity tends to reduce the cost of living. We stretch the buying power of the average pay envelope. As long as we continue to do this, we are entitled to whatever success we may have."

### *Checking Waste in Distribution*

The outstanding characteristic of the most successful chains is excellence in buying. The buyers are experts, and are supposed to know as much about the product as the sellers. They go into factories, help to make new products, and indicate the price which they will pay for merchandise. If the vendor hesitates, they are frequently able to show him how to produce the article at the stipulated price, and still make a profit. Such buyers are active; they do not merely passively criticize proffered merchandise. They suggest new products, making use of waste by-products or adapting to cheaper merchandise some new vogue in the world of fashions.

Irrespective of the outcome of the battle of the chains to take over a larger proportion of the nation's total retail trade, it is certain that efficiency all around will be heightened. In previous decades, the best brains of business were applied to the problems of production. Marked strides have been made in the technique of mass production. The next problem is to reduce the economic wastes in distribution.

In the growing competition for patronage, the more conventionally managed specialty and department stores have consistently been adding to their operating expenses, partly through competition in adding free services. Ratios for operating expenses were higher for both department stores and specialty shops in 1927, according to the Bureau of Business Research of Harvard University. Gross margins, it was found, were higher for department stores but lower for specialty stores. Specialty stores with sales of \$1,000,000 and more commonly showed an increase in their 1927 net profit ratio, whereas specialty stores



with sales under \$1,000,000 disclosed substantially smaller net profits for 1927—a decline from 1.7 per cent. in 1926 to 0.2 per cent. in 1927.

The Harvard studies revealed no change in net profit for department stores with net sales less than \$1,000,000, whereas for the larger stores net profit decreased in 1927.

Few outsiders have attempted to defend these rising costs of selling, but Paul M. Mazur, of the banking firm of Lehman Brothers in New York, has come to the defense of the merchants, saying:

"High-pressure distribution has been the force that has built and maintained this huge consumer demand. To-day American prosperity exists through intensive selling.

. . . That there are grievous weaknesses in distribution is undoubtedly true; but that the system is a malignant growth in the industrial body, is as dangerous a diagnosis as it is a false one. Distribution needs a purgative perhaps, but it certainly does not require the surgeon's knife. A major operation may be successful as a piece of analytical technique; but its results upon the business patient can only be death."

Notwithstanding Mr. Mazur's viewpoint, the competition of scientific merchandising is pounding down on the hit-or-miss ways of the rule-of-thumb merchant. As a result of the new competition, less of the consumer's dollar will be used to pay for the economic wastes of haphazard merchandising.

## The Emperor and Empress of Japan

IN THE middle of the month of November occur the ceremonies incident to the coronation of Hirohito and Nagako as Emperor and Empress of Japan. The young man had actually ascended the throne on Christmas Day two years ago, but a period of national mourning followed the death of his father, Yoshihito, and it is only now that the formal rites are held.

Hirohito is in his twenty-eighth year, the oldest of four sons of the late Emperor. Owing to the ill-health of his father, he had been serving as Regent for five years before the succession passed to him, thus acquiring real training for his life task. In the spring and summer of 1921, only a few months before he became Regent, Prince Hirohito broke tradition—and the behest of his father, of course—and traveled abroad, visiting England and several other European countries. It is understood that he sent daily reports home to Japan which had vast influence in spreading democratic ideas among the people of his own land.

The royal couple were married on January 26, 1924, the Empress being a daughter of Prince Kuni, a distinguished Army officer. They have two daughters, but the succession passes to male descendants and the present heir-

apparent is Prince Chichibu, the Emperor's brother, who was married to Setsuko Matsudaira—daughter of the recent ambassador at Washington—on September 28.

Coronations in Japan are held in Shishinden Palace, Kyoto. For gorgeous costumes and brilliant color scheme no European ceremonial could rival them, and the land of the cherry blossom and chrysanthemum still clings to its traditions. Hirohito, the one hundred and twenty-third Emperor of Japan, will thus accept not only



EMPEROR HIROHITO

EMPRESS NAGAKO

the throne but the three Divine Treasures of his imperial ancestors—the sword, jewel, and mirror which have been handed down for centuries. It is a most important event for the young sovereign, and a great occasion for an admiring people.

# Leading Articles

Aviation ~ National and Foreign Problems ~ Persons

## Liners of the Sky

BY SETTLING safely to earth at Lakehurst after its five-day struggle with storms over the Atlantic, the *Graf Zeppelin*—the biggest thing that flies—raised some questions. The flight of this giant dirigible from the shores of a lake in southern Germany to the meadows of New Jersey was an epic in human transportation; and it caused those whose imaginations had been stirred to ask:

*Is it really possible that in the years to come I shall travel through the air, as I now travel across the sea in ships and across the countryside in trains and motor cars?*

*If I do thus travel through the air, will it be by airplane or by dirigible?*

Though its flight prompted these questions, it likewise established these facts, from which certain conclusions may be drawn: Its flight covered a greater distance than any other ever made without intermediate stop; by lasting 111 hours, it barely failed to establish a record for continuous flight; it was the first time that passengers were carried across the Atlantic by air (and there were no less than twenty of these passengers); the start was made not after days or weeks of waiting for favorable weather, but as soon as the ship was ready, in the face of storms known to exist over the Atlantic. Finally, damage inflicted by these storms was repaired in flight, and did not cause disaster—as it might in an airplane.

Beyond this there is this much to be said for the dirigible, and for the possibility of passenger flights in them in the years to come. In the

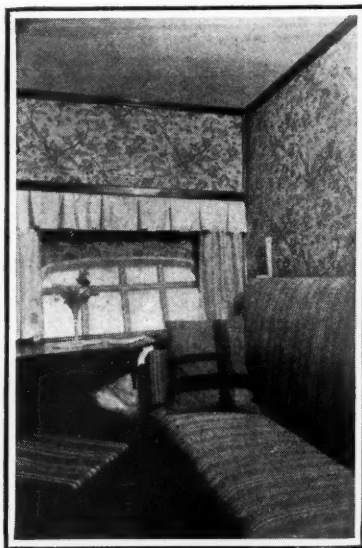
November *World's Work* Howard Mingos tells the story of the Zeppelins, and this story puts their kind in a favorable light.

The history of dirigibles, or lighter-than-air craft, is largely a history of Zeppelins. Although there have been many dirigibles, by far the overwhelming measure of success has come to those built like that first dirigible launched by the late Count Zeppelin on the shores of Lake Constance twenty-eight years ago. Except for the flights of the *Norge* and the ill-fated *Italia* over the Arctic Sea, little has been done by dirigibles which were not themselves manufactured in the Zeppelin works or modeled on the Zeppelin principles.

Although the dirigible seems new to America, which has had little but the destroyed *Shenandoah* and Zeppelin-built *Los Angeles*, it has behind it a considerable record. This record includes not only war-time raids and patrolling flights, but peace-time service in the days when the airplane was still a menace to its pilot.

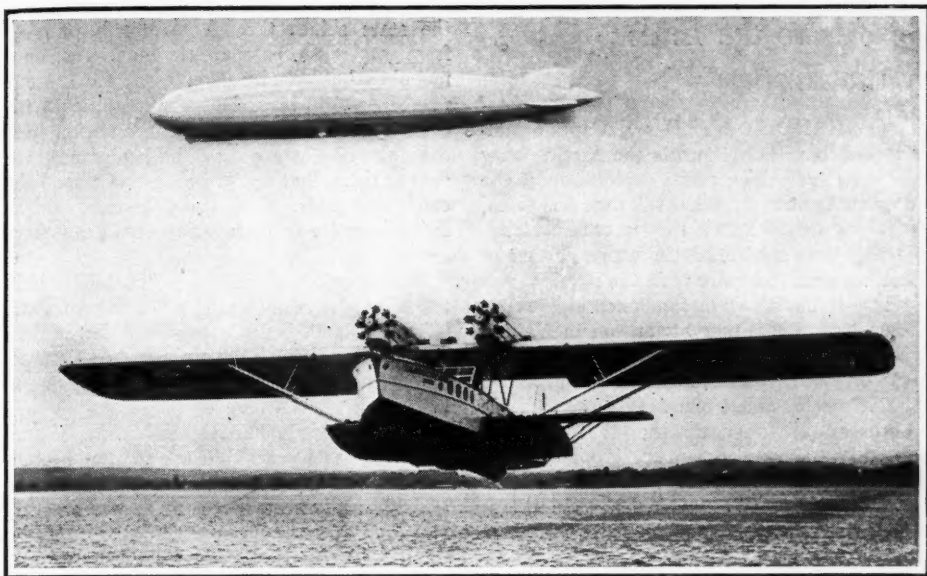
"The Germans have their pre-war record to show that this type of carrier can be popularized for regular schedules service," says Mr. Mingos. "Six passenger Zeppelins were operated, for six years prior to the war, carrying about 40,000 passengers between German cities, without an accident in their 1,600 flights. The Zeppelin experts believe that a two days' schedule across the Atlantic can be maintained as safely."

This the *Graf Zeppelin's* extended tussle with storm and wind will lead some to doubt. Yet it did bring its passengers and crew safely across the sea, in comfort surpassing that of other trans-Atlantic aircraft. In *Aero Digest* Dr. Carl Hanns Pollogg thus de-



A BERTH IN AN AIR LINER

One of the passenger cabins on the *Graf Zeppelin*.



#### WHICH WILL CARRY THE AIR PASSENGERS OF THE FUTURE?

In the distance is seen the *Graf Zeppelin*, which recently flew with twenty passengers from Friedrichshafen, Germany, where this picture was taken, to Lakehurst, New Jersey. Rising from the waters of Lake Constance is seen a huge four-motored Dornier Superwal flying boat.

scribes its comparatively spacious quarters:

"A short distance behind the nose of the ship is the main car, which contains the navigation rooms and the passenger accommodations. The steering wheels are mounted in the foremost cabin, whose large windows furnish an unobstructed view to all sides as well as downwards. . . .

"The next cabin is the chart room. It is followed, on the port side, by the wireless cabin. The middle and aft part of this car is occupied by the passengers' accommodations which consist of a roomy hall, 16½ feet by 16½ feet, which will serve also as a dining-room; ten cabins of two berths each, and an electric kitchen."

What of the future of this craft, and the others like it? Even now two similar ones are nearing completion in England, the American Navy is planning two more, and certainly the Zeppelin works hope to carry further the series of which the *Graf Zeppelin* is the 127th.

Those who favor the dirigible rather than the airplane as a means of transportation hold that the lighter-than-air ships have not yet begun to show their possibilities.

On the other hand there are many who

caution us against the dirigible. Especially to those who, impressed with the passenger-carrying capacity and comfort of these ships, compare them to ocean liners, does Fitzhugh Green give a word of warning. In *The Century* he writes:

"The great difficulty in the construction and management of the airship, the dirigible, lies not in the ship but in the medium in which she floats. . . . The ocean is relatively viscous and immobile, while the air is tenuous and often engaged in violent motion of translation. A twenty-mile current in the open sea would be and unheard-of catastrophe for the mariner. A twenty-mile breeze in mid-air is but a zephyr to the dirigible pilot, who must be prepared to face winds two and three times that strong from any direction at any time. A storm at sea makes the steamer only bob. A storm in the air carries the dirigible willy-nilly in its grip."

There seems to be agreement, however, that there is a place for both dirigible and plane in the future. Mr. Davis puts it this way:

"Yesterday the winged machine held all our attention. To-day graceful whales of the airy ocean loom overhead to thrill us. Each has its own vital part to play in revolutionizing travel and transportation."

## By Air to the Ends of the Earth

COMMANDER BYRD and Captain Wilkins have both flown in the Arctic. Now they are undertaking aerial exploration of the Antarctic Continent. What will they find there, with what difficulties will they have to contend, and how does the Antarctic, which neither of them has seen, compare with the Arctic?

"The similarities are fundamental," writes the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson in *Natural History*. "At the mathematical poles, whether north or south, you have the sun visible above the horizon for about one week more than six months, and there is darkness so that you could not read ordinary newspaper print out of doors for something between four and five months each year. But this is never pitch darkness such as we know in the tropic or temperate zones."

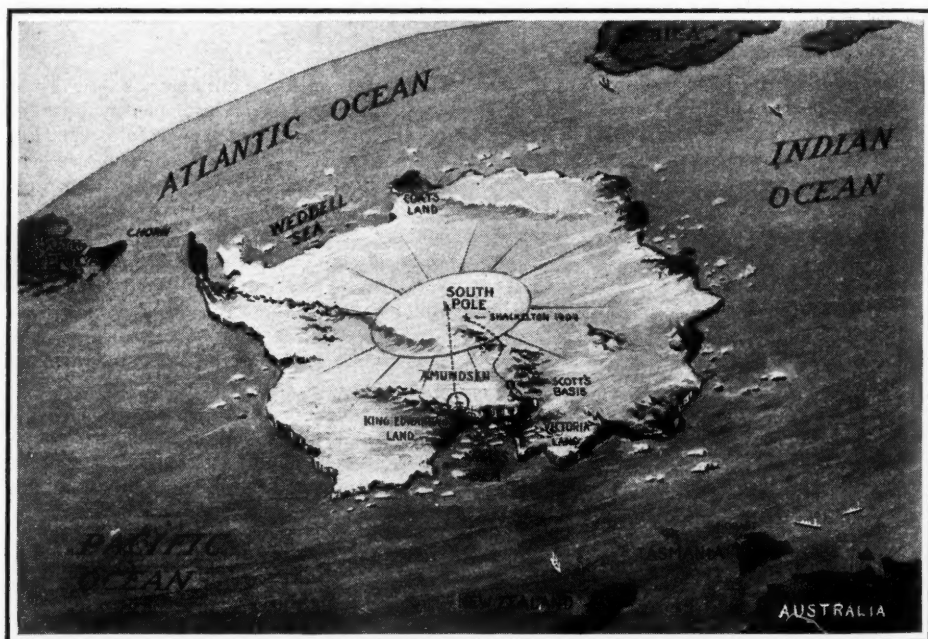
Clouds are rare in midwinter, and thin, especially in the Antarctic, so that the light of

the stars shines through. Auroras, ranging from gorgeous to pale, are common. And on a moonless but cloudless night one can "see a man dressed in black half a mile away. With even a quarter of the moon in addition, you could see him as a dot on the landscape three or four times that far." Because of these light conditions, Mr. Stefansson declares, night flying is easier in both regions than anywhere else on earth.

But there are differences. To begin with, the Arctic is mainly water, while the Antarctic is mainly land, being a continent larger than Australia or Europe. This vast area is practically bare of life except for a few mosses and lichens.

"The Antarctic," continues Mr. Stefansson, "is really as icy and lifeless as the theorists formerly supposed the Arctic to be. There is really an ice cap too, such as was formerly supposed to cover the Arctic."

While the Arctic has the least storms for an area of that size in the northern hemisphere, the Antarctic shore region is the stormiest in the

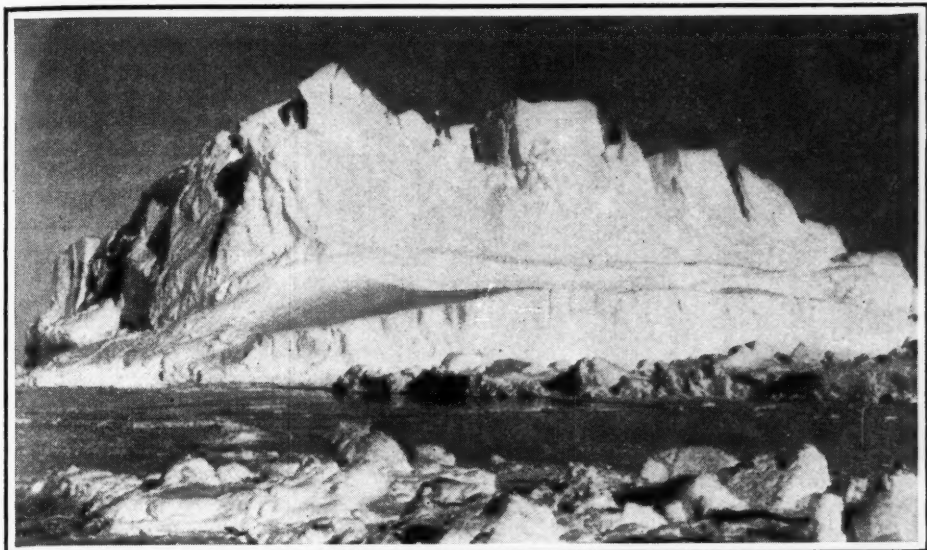


From *Natural History Magazine*

### THE EYES OF THE WORLD FOLLOW BYRD INTO THE ANTARCTIC

The North Pole lies in the center of an extensive sea, but the South Pole lies in the heart of an ice-covered continent, on a high plateau guarded by blizzard-swept mountain ranges. The limited explored areas have been indicated by the artist. Except for the expeditions of Amundsen and Scott, the interior is unvisited.





From "Argonauts of the South."

#### A GREAT ICE BARRIER ENCIRCLES THE HOME OF THE BLIZZARD

Some idea of the height of the precipitous ice cliffs may be gained by comparing them with the men walking along the shore at the left, where they appear as tiny black specks. This scene is in the Bay of Whales, where Commander Byrd will establish his base. Captain Wilkins hopes to fly 2,000 miles along the shore, much of which has never been seen by man.

whole world. For all that the central region around the pole is quieter. It seems probable that there is an area of a great many thousand square miles in the Antarctic where no strong wind ever blows.

"It appears, then, that the work planned by Wilkins for the Antarctic is as dangerous as it is scientifically important. Nothing concerns geographers so much down there as to determine the coast-lines and therefore the extent of the continent."

Byrd's plan of flying inland from the rough coast regions is safer. He too will have contributions to make to geography if his projected mapping plans are carried out.

But meteorology, thinks Stefansson, will benefit most from the expeditions. The three chief lands radiating from the Antarctic—Africa, South America, and Australia—have grain fields and pasture lands of vast extent which are dependent on rainfall. An ability to predict weather conditions, to foretell dry years, can grow out of the preliminary work planned by Byrd and Wilkins. It would enable the comparatively near countries to control crop-planting and stock-selling, and would thus prove a vast benefit to them.

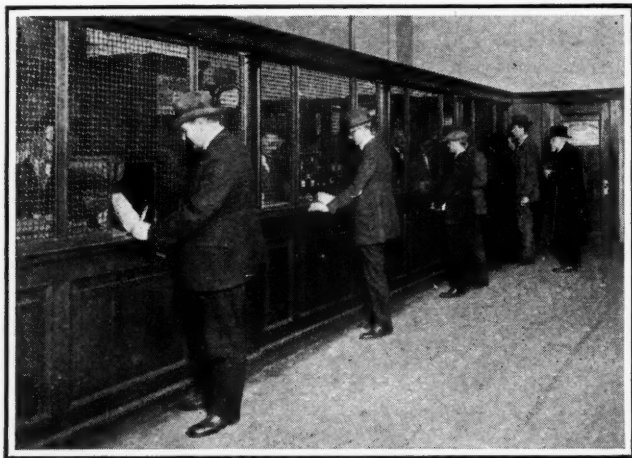
### A Sovereign State Selling Liquor

WHAT precisely would happen if the plan for liquor control advocated by Governor Smith in his acceptance speech and in his campaign address in Milwaukee were put into effect?

There are two parts to his program. One, considered as a temporary measure, would have Congress fix a higher standard of alcoholic content in the liquors forbidden by the Volstead Act. The other, advocated as a permanent relief from the bootleggers and speakeasies of the present, would change the Eighteenth Amendment so that—if its citizens desired—a State could sell drinks under whatever restrictions it saw fit.

Governor Smith has offered no detailed plan. He has merely indicated a definite principle generally called the Gothenburg plan, which is the basis of liquor-control systems in Sweden and in most of the provinces of Canada.

The most recent application of this plan has been in Ontario. It is described, in a survey of the liquor plans of Canada, in the New York



A GOVERNMENT LIQUOR STORE IN MONTREAL

*Times* by J. A. Stevenson, himself a resident of Ontario.

To buy liquor in Ontario a permit, costing \$2 for natives and \$4 for visitors, is needed. It can be used only in government stores. No taverns are permitted, and the sale or consumption of liquor in hotels, restaurants, and clubs is banned.

"The procedure for obtaining liquor at a government store is simplicity itself," writes Mr. Stevenson. "The prospective purchaser, armed with his permit, enters by one door, and after making from a printed list his selection of desirable beverages, fills in an application form with the details and appends his signature and the number of his permit. The form thus filled in is viséd by an official, who also records the purchases upon the back of the permit, which is then presented along with the cash required for payment at the cashier's wicket, where it is stamped 'paid' and handed back.

"The next move is to the liquor counter, where attendants fill the order from an array of shelves and bins in the background. The purchaser then carries off his spoils by another door from the one which he entered by, and if one is not laying down a cellar or does not select a rush hour late on Saturday afternoon, the whole transaction can be completed within five minutes."

This system, either with fewer or more restrictions, is the one generally in use in Canada and Sweden. As to its success there is a difference of opinion. This same difference has greeted Governor Smith's proposal to introduce the

system, provided it has popular approval, into the United States.

In *Current History* George Gordon Battle, a prominent New York lawyer, supports it as a return to the American constitutional practise of reserving to the States matters on which there is a difference of opinion—as for instance Prohibition in dry Kansas and wet Maryland. The Eighteenth Amendment, Mr. Battle argues, was the first departure from this fundamental practise.

There also appears in *Current History* an article attacking Governor Smith's

proposals, by Orville S. Poland, head of the legal department of the Anti-Saloon League of New York. Mr. Poland dismisses the plan as being not a constitutional reform, but part of a consistent drive of Governor Smith, whose "only object is to get more alcohol."

Further criticism comes in the form of a description in the *Independent*, by J. L. Sherard, of an analogous plan in force in South Carolina from 1893 to 1915. "Within three years after the monopoly was established," he writes, "undercurrent mutterings of graft came to the surface in a State-wide political campaign. . . . During the last years of the dispensary, the corruption permeating it from top to bottom became so notorious and scandalous that it was common talk over the State." Finally the plan was dropped because of this.

## A New Backbone for the Donkey

IF THE Democratic donkey wishes once more to browse in the pleasant gardens of the White House, whether after the election now imminent, in 1932, or in the dim future, it must get itself a new backbone. There is little doubt about that. Even the Democrats admit it. The question is, How?

Certainly in the last four years the backbone of the party has been split neatly into two parts. The one, centering in the South, was made up of local machines whose ear had been

caught by the political strength of the Methodists, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Klan. Its ideals centered about the remains of the Bryan era. The other part, in the North, was made up of city machines with its ideals centered on nothing in particular. At Houston last June these two parts met, and turned over leadership of both to Governor Smith. It has been his task to recreate the party. Whether or not he has had any success in doing so will appear when we have had time to analyze the results of this month's election. Meanwhile by what means could such a reconstruction have been brought about?

"It can only be done by bringing into the party councils the representatives of those whose interests are neglected or opposed by the dominant elements of the Republican Party." Such is the belief of Walter Lippmann, who has achieved prominence as a political writer and student of political science. Mr. Lippmann discusses the question in the autumn *Yale Review*.

Until the States are allowed some genuine measure of autonomy in dealing with Prohibition, he believes, opinions about it will becloud other issues. Therefore Governor Smith did well to call for a change. Likewise in developing his stand on water power he has done well, indicating that "large corporate business, while it is to be treated fairly and sympathetically, is not to have the last word."

Other necessary steps in the development were "by equally definite decisions to detach from the Republican Party and attach to the Democratic Party those groups and those interests which do not profit by the privileges, the subsidies, the tariffs which are the core of present-day Republicanism."

"They are, first of all, the farmers who depend upon exporting their product. They are those manufacturers who suffer by the high cost of tariff-protected materials. They are the exporting industries in general. They are the importing industries. They are the investment bankers concerned with the financing of foreign trade. They are the smaller independent business men who are being exterminated by the growth of gigantic industrial combinations. These are some of the elements out of which an opposition party has necessarily to be constituted."

In this way, then, the Democratic donkey was to be provided with a new backbone. Has



By Sykes, in the New York Evening Post

"TOO LATE?"

One of the many cartoons commenting on the division within the Democratic Party.

the operation been successful? By listening to the election returns on the evening of November 6 you can find out.

## A Free Church in a Free State

**B**ECAUSE Governor Smith is a Catholic, and because the endeavors of Protestant ministers politically active against him reach an extent unknown since the Civil War, the ancient problem of the relation between Church and State has forced itself on the American people. In a time when interest in things political is said to be waning, one more problem of government pushes itself to the fore.

The New York *World*, a newspaper prominent in the support of Governor Smith, undertakes to pin this problem down.

"It is agreed by all Americans, virtually without exception," says the *World*, "that the government shall never give special privileges to any church nor seek in any way to interfere with . . . any church. It is agreed, that is to say, that there shall be no State religion and no established church, that no religion shall be

proscribed, that every church shall . . . be regarded as a purely voluntary society. This is the doctrine of the separation of Church and State as Americans understand it."

So successfully has this doctrine been applied in this country, says the *World*, that hitherto Americans have not had to consider difficulties it involves. These difficulties hinge on a twilight zone in which both churches and State claim jurisdiction—that of moral issues. These issues are usually those pertaining to education, marriage, the taking of life in war or by capital punishment, and to the regulation of pleasure through sumptuary legislation dealing with art, sport, and drink. On all these churchmen have strong, though differing, views.

The problem is "how far churchmen are entitled to use the authority of their pulpits to induce their congregations to vote for particular solutions of these moral issues." Why, churchmen ask, should not the church take an active part politically in realizing its social program?

To this the *World* answers that if the church takes an active part *politically* in realizing its social program, the American doctrine of separation of Church and State becomes unworkable. To take an active part politically means to insist on certain laws and on certain candidates. When a church does this it becomes, from the point of view of the State, a political party.

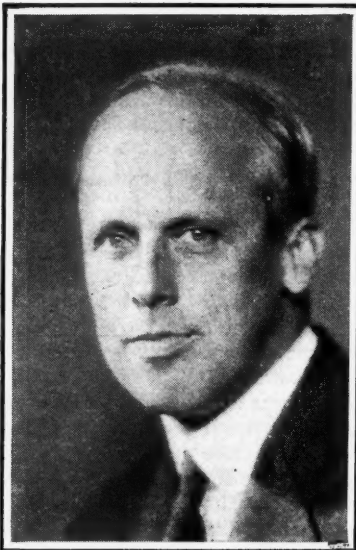
To be concrete: The church fights against war. Is it not entitled to take an active part politically in the fight against war?

"Our answer is no. The fight against war at the political level involves opinions on the League, Locarno, the Dawes plan, the Monroe Doctrine, the debts, the cruiser program, tariffs, the Open Door, mandates, the recognition of de facto and de jure governments, and innumerable other matters. Most emphatically we should say that men and women ought not to take positions on these questions as Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics or Jews."

It is Prohibition, of course, that makes the problem acute today. Certain churches, according to the *World*, are virtually arguing that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act are dogmas of the Protestant Church, and are asking their congregations to take an active part politically in dealing with these laws. But "all statutes are secular, and it is an utter and disastrous confusion of the functions of

Church and State to invest any statute with religious authority."

Naturally, declares the *World*, churches have the right to teach total abstinence, temperance, or anything else they see fit. But if they "proceed to political activity in behalf of particular statutes and particular candidates they are trespassing upon the field reserved by the American people to the State."



NORMAN THOMAS

Hoover? Smith?  
No—Thomas

WHILE most politically minded Americans are discussing—with more heat than usual—whether they ought to support Smith or Hoover, there is a comparatively small but intelligent group which believes that votes should go to neither. This group, with much of its following in religious and university circles, favors instead the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas. In the *Congregationalist* Jerome Davis undertakes to explain his presence in the Thomas-for-President camp. Though admitting that a sincere Christian could vote for either of the two chief parties and give good reasons for doing so, he disposes of them briefly:

The Republican organization, Professor Davis begins, supports big business and the high tariff which favors it; it has subsidized shipping and neglects the farmer. It has been guilty of great corruption in recent years, has tried to increase the Navy, and has carried on war in Nicaragua while it preaches Kellogg peace pacts. Tammany Democrats are no better, continues Professor Davis, for every-



one knows how they have acted in New York amidst graft and the spoils system. In short, "do we not need a progressive, honest party akin to the British Labor party?"

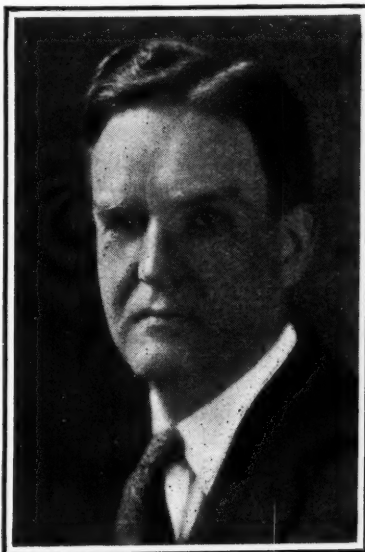
The Socialist Party's platform is definite on the relief of unemployment and poverty. The Socialists propose legislation on behalf of labor, and defense of civil liberties. They recommend (1) withdrawal of the troops from Nicaragua; (2) that private investments abroad shall not be protected by our arms; (3) cancellation of all war debts and reparations; (4) American entry into the League of Nations; (5) recognition of the Russian Soviets; (6) international disarmament; (7) outlawry of war; (8) independence of the Philippines. "Surely the impartial citizen can hardly deny that the Socialist platform more nearly conforms to the spirit of the Prince of Peace than either the Republican or the Democratic," comments Professor Davis.

"In contrast to Hoover and Smith, Norman Thomas is a minister whose pure idealism and loyalty to the Christ Way is a matter of record. What would it mean to have as President a man who has had experience as an able head of a social settlement, as an outstanding sincere minister of Christ, and as a prophet of social justice?" He opposed the war honestly, and in 1918 became editor of the *World Tomorrow* and founder of the Civil Liberties Bureau. Later he became a director in the League for Industrial Democracy which educates college students on the economic order, and also an editor of the *New Leader*. "Is there any doubt that if Thomas could be elected it would mean a rebirth of social idealism and a further advance toward the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth?"

Hoover, continues the professor, will probably be elected. But a vote for Thomas will not be wasted, for it will tend to make Hoover realize that there are Americans who feel he is not progressive or Christian enough—it will

strengthen his idealism and his social vision.

McAlister Coleman also writes of the Socialists in the *Woman's Journal* for October, saying: "As you study the Socialist party platform you realize that back of it is a philosophy which sharply sets it off from the opportunism of both old parties. It was written by men and women who passionately want a better world for those who create the wealth of the world by work of hand and brain."



BRUCE BARTON

Author of several books, and famous as a writer of advertising copy, Mr. Barton is one of our prominent business men of letters.

## Business Men of Letters

HOW can an intelligent man spend his life thinking about things that come in tin cans and paper cartons?

The answer is that intelligent men do spend their lives thinking about things that come in cans and cartons, and that moreover they enjoy it. Their work is the first cultural development to come from our modern industrial life; it is the business, trade, art, craft, profession—call it what you will—of writing advertising.

The writer of advertising belongs to a new breed. In a way peculiarly his own combines a passion for merchandising with an ability to write. Gerald Carson undertakes to explain him in the November *Scribner's*. It appears that he represents a fusion of the world of letters and the world of commerce. Hence he is a business man of letters.

"To him the activities of commerce, which other ages have found sordid, acquire beauty because they have meaning," writes Mr. Carson. "The grocery store, with its rows and rows of cheerful tins and squat bottles, its mingled smell of oranges, greens, and butter, becomes beautiful, as a bridge or a watch or a locomotive, to a certain type of consciousness, is beautiful, and for the same reason: because it represents human skill and ingenuity adjusting the material world to human needs."

Mr. Carson finds that advertising is beginning to acquire a sense of its own significance. Before 1900, "the advertising man was closely related to the medical gentleman with the checkered vest and wide-brimmed hat who ran traveling shows, offering the rural districts homeopathic medicine combined with entertainment."

But then advertising began to be written by writers, intellectual workers, men who in another age, say the eighteenth century, "would have hired their pen to satire and become great political pamphleteers, or have slaved as booksellers' hacks at biographies of British worthies, or, as poets and playwrights, have secured food and shelter by the adroit use of dedicatory epistles directed to wealthy peers."

The advertising copy-writer must rigorously exclude his own idiosyncrasy of style. Impersonality, unobtrusiveness, utter clarity—these are the marks of craftsmanlike advertising writing. Like the poet and painter, the copy-writer gives an imaginative illusion of truth and reality.

Nevertheless there is a sharp difference between the advertising writer and the critical writer, for the copy-writer makes no criticism of life. He reflects it. He facilitates the normal commercial process. "The advertising man helps to sell oil heaters, electric ice-boxes, soap in newly contrived forms, because factories produce and people are willing to buy."



\*AMERICAN CARS HAVE A WORLD MARKET

A scene in the Holy Land, where the photographer caught the old and the new in transportation in the streets of Bethlehem.

He does it because he has come under the spell of what Mr. Carson calls the poetry of groceries: "Once the things we use in living are grasped imaginatively, what could be a happier business than to spend one's day inventing thoughts about paints and wallboard, about motor-cars, or the feel of finely balanced tools, about tinned foods which make women happier and creams which make them prettier?"

"If you respond to the emotional content of this paragraph, you know what advertising means to the copy-writer. Unobtrusively he stands in the wings and lets the show go on. And if it is good he is content."

## Putting the World on Wheels

AMERICAN trucks rumbling in Iceland; American touring cars speeding across the Tibetan plains, or splashing through rivers in African jungles where Livingstone dared not penetrate: everywhere in the world there are automobiles, and nine out of every ten of them are American-made.

The phenomenal growth of the American motor industry until it has encompassed the markets of the world is a source of growing comment in the press. The demand for automobiles in out-of-the-way corners of the earth, and the way in which American cars are filling

the demand are the subjects of three recent articles. In *Barrons*, a financial weekly, we read:

Of the 30,000,000 automobiles in service to-day throughout the world, 90 per cent. are of American manufacture. The value of our motor exports last year was \$406,000,000, ranking third among the nation's exports; exceeding such distinctively American products as wheat and flour or meat; exceeded only by cotton and petroleum products.

In addition there are the hundreds of factories, American-owned and run, throughout the world where American cars are manufactured.

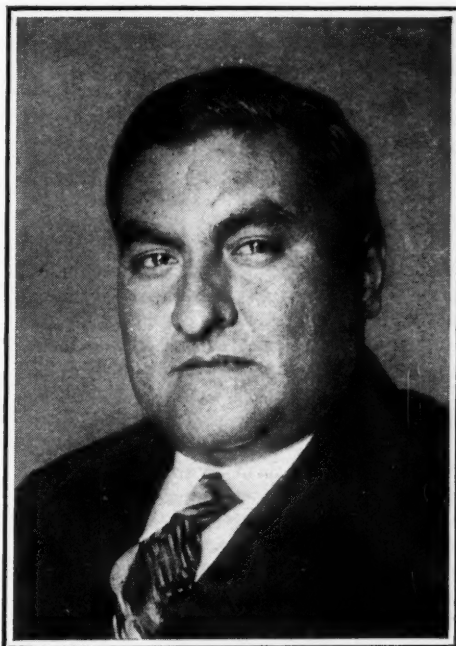
"In far-away Java," writes Edward M. Stein in *Barron's*, "a brown-skinned native worker squats in true tailor-fashion on the cloth-cutting board in an automobile factory. With skilled hands he operates the latest type electric cloth-cutting machine over an unchanging pattern, while, with trained toes, he holds the cloth and deftly removes it as he finishes each cut. He has been taught American mass-production methods with the aid of modern machinery. But in his four-handed method of working he goes his instructors one better and sets new records for his type of work."

"Further to the East, in Japan, an under-sized Japanese worker skilfully spins a new disc automobile wheel on a stanchion, and with the most improved type of template places a colored stripe around the hub in a second. Not many years ago, he might have rebelled at the suggestion that he could not stripe the wheel so quickly by hand in the methods of his ancestors. . . . These and many similar scenes in other foreign countries are details in the penetration of the American automobile to the frontiers of the world."

Self-contained operating units have been established by automobile manufacturers in twenty-two strategic foreign centers, writes James D. Mooney, vice-president of the General Motors Corporation, which exports half the cars sent abroad. More than 17,000 men are employed in the plants of one of these manufacturers alone.

Walter P. Chrysler, writing in the *Magazine of Wall Street* on the unlimited possibilities of the motor export business, declares that the present production of automobiles—\$3,700,000,000 worth in 1927, and the present export of nearly half a million cars a year, worth \$406,000,000, are a long way from the pigmy days of 1914.

Some day, writes Mr. Mooney in the *Herald Tribune Magazine*, "in the jungles of Papua, on the barren steppes of the Gobi Desert, in the crowded streets of Osaka and Berlin and Melbourne—wherever there is need of transportation, wherever the desire for the finer things of life exists—there you will find the American automobile. Little by little it is replacing the old modes of travel; the jinriksha in Japan, the two-wheeled bullock cart in South Africa, the camel, the donkey and the elephant in other parts of the world—just as surely and as effectually as it has replaced the horse in Europe and in America."



EMILIO PORTES GIL

Who takes office on December 1 as provisional President of Mexico, replacing the assassinated Alvaro Obregon.

## Has Mexico Settled Down?

WITH fierce, dark, unsmiling faces, their tall frames clad in smart gray and black uniforms, the Yaqui soldiers stood guard. For blocks they lined the streets of Mexico City. President Calles was about to end at last the crisis begun last summer by the assassination of President-elect Obregon. He was on his way through those lines of soldiers to make a speech calling for an end of military dictatorship with its political murders, and for the beginning of a new era of democratic government. An eyewitness thus describes the scene:

"Calles proceeded through silent streets. Every proprietor of a building along the line of march was made personally responsible for any and every one inside. Not a soul was allowed at the windows or balconies unless accompanied by police or soldiers.

"The Chamber itself was mounted with machine guns, and report has it that hidden machine guns were trained even on the Congress-

men—there in that white interior, embossed in gold letters with the names of the heroes of Mexican history.”

The eyewitness was Carleton Beals, an American writer long resident in Mexico, who pictures the scene and its significance in the *New Republic*.

Once inside the Chamber, President Calles mounted the dais. Behind him were the army chiefs with their staffs, all in brilliant uniforms. Before him were the deputies—representatives, after a fashion, of the hope for a stable civil government in Mexico. To these men, some of them bitterly hostile, the President promised that he stood as guarantor for the good behavior of the army. The show of strength and uniforms impressed the deputies.

Then Calles turned to the officers behind him. Lecturing them as though they were school children, he denounced the vicious system by which military heroes had ruled Mexico for more than a century, making it their prey. Calles “played civilian against militarist, and vice versa,” reports Mr. Beals, “and the result was a moral victory. The house rose to its feet like a surge of the sea.”

President Calles was ostensibly ushering democracy into Mexico. Since the revolution of 1910 broke up the long dictatorship of General Diaz, there had been a succession of Presidents who had come in not as elected executives, but as military leaders—feudal chieftains almost—who had risen to power and sought to maintain themselves there. Calles himself had been the only exception to this rule. It was hailed as sign of the end of dictatorships when in his speech, pointing to his Constitutional retirement from office at the end of his term on December 1, he said:

“Never, for any reason or under any circumstances, shall I return to the Presidency.”

Will this new social order actually begin? In the November *World's Work* Henry Kittredge Norton explains the difficulties in its way.

First there is the fact that the physical basis for a democracy is lacking. The overwhelming majority of the people is composed of ignorant, illiterate, poverty-stricken peons, many of whom are hardly capable of cultivating successfully farms of their own. To superimpose on this people a stable government, Mr. Norton goes on to say, “involves the political education of all but a small fraction of the Mexican people. This political education must be the outgrowth of a general education, the

seeds of which have hardly been planted.”

Behind all this lie the fundamental national problems of foreign debt, treatment of foreign oil and land properties, the religious issue, and the immigration of peons into the southern United States. The oil problem has happily been settled, declares Mr. Norton, by an abandonment of the attempt to enforce the radical provisions of the 1917 Constitution, which seemed to threaten confiscation of foreign oil properties acquired under the old régime.

The other problems are still current. The government income, when expenses of administration are deducted, is not even large enough to pay the interest of foreign debts, let alone retire the capital. Meanwhile the expropriation of land, turning over *haciendas* to the more aggressive and capable of the peasant masses, goes on. And each bit of land taken adds that much more to what the government owes to former land-owners. As for the Church, its difficulties with the government are being negotiated with the Catholic powers in Rome, and some working agreement may be found. It is the old struggle for authority between Church and State, with some rights on both sides, attended by all the troubles of a transition period. The “doleful caravan” of emigrants to the United States, on the other hand, is a symptom rather than a cause of trouble. It is one more sign that all is not well in Mexico.

Meanwhile Portes Gil, a civilian, has been chosen for provisional president, to replace the murdered Obregon. President Calles is supporting him, and there is some hope in this, carrying as it does a promise of an attempt to shake down into the long pull out of transition and into stability.

## The Fascist Army To-day

AMONG the armies of Europe none is such an unknown quantity as the Italian. Yet it is of great interest because of Italy's rebirth and grim determination to be one of the mighty powers of Europe. It is characteristic of Fascism that it has thrown its protective mantle over the army, demanding that it be treated with respect and grateful recognition.

An opportunity to observe this army was extended to Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, the well-known British military critic, and he writes



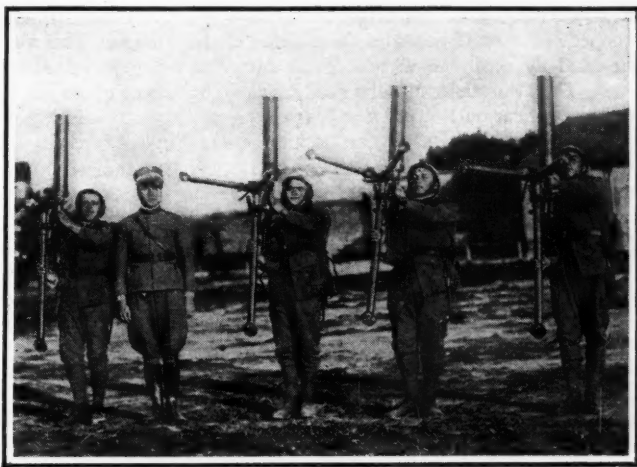
of his experiences in the London Daily Telegraph. "To the courtesy, cordiality, and unrestrained facilities offered me I can not pay high enough tribute," he says. "And the fittest return I can make is to show equal candor in my comments, for only a healthy organism can bear the strong rays of criticism."

That the Italian army has been regenerated, says Captain Hart, is undeniable. But this regeneration is most marked as yet in the moral and physical spheres, less so in the mental, and least of all in the material ones. The physical exercises of the troops are arduous and smack of the gymnasium, yet the officers seem to enter into such activities gladly to earn the respect and confidence of their men. In short, "they are training up an army of human cats." That the gulf between officers and privates has lessened is a healthy sign of the times; for after the great Austro-German victory at Caporetto in 1917, morale had sunk to a low ebb within the ranks.

Italian tactics, however, seem to savor too much of the deliberation and close formations of the World War. More elastic than the French methods, they have less fire-power to fulfil these deliberate methods and they fail to appreciate the potentialities of the rifle—its usefulness when employed by agile sharpshooters, working forward along natural cover under the protection of machine-guns massed in their rear.

Further, Italy is lacking in military materials, although the air force is kept well supplied because in war this is the force of immediate action, while the army could expand, both in men and material, secure behind its mountain ramparts.

The country is divided into ten army corps districts, and an eleventh corps is now being formed. There are thirty divisions, each consisting in peace time of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of mixed field artillery—compared to the French division of nine infantry battalions, one field artillery regiment, and one field howitzer regiment. Besides the army corps, there are nine regiments of Alpine sharpshooters and twelve of bersaglieri cyclists, five regiments of heavy artillery, the cavalry,



PRESENTING ARMS WITH MACHINE GUNS  
Soldiers of the Italian army learning a new manual of arms.

and the tanks. The cavalry is of slight importance, but the light Fiat tanks are fast and superior to the corresponding French Renault machines.

Italian military engineering is highly developed, as the Museo de Geneo in Rome amply demonstrates; but smoke and gas warfare are backward in their development, as compared for instance to Germany and to Russia. The motor transport facilities are old and inadequate—short once more on material.

One principle of the service is wise: "It is worth remark that the Italian practice here is to keep men to one specialty throughout their term of service, so that they can take similar employment in civil life and return to it in emergency—round pegs in round holes."

## The Conqueror of Jerusalem

ABLISTERING sun shone down on the valley of the Dead Sea. With the temperature on this parched desert, whose surface is a thousand feet below sea level, at more than 120 in the shade, the occupants of the British military cars crawling over its alkali sands perspired and gasped.

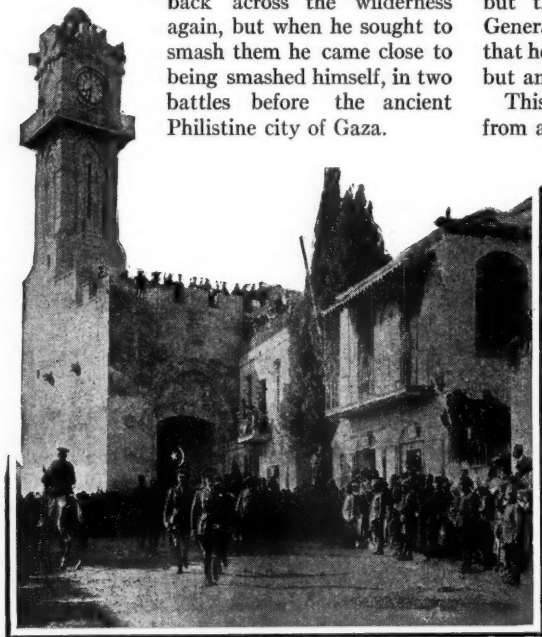
One of the cars, a spick-and-span Rolls Royce, sank to its hubs in a quick sand. Out of its tonneau stepped a tall man in the uniform

of a general. With his large bare hands he scooped out room to lie under the car, and made the mud fly until the wheels of the car were free. Then the staff captain's Ford was able to haul the big car out. That was ten years ago.

In mid-October of this year the tall general was guest of honor at the American Legion annual convention, in Texas. He is Field Marshal Edmund Allenby, first Viscount of Megiddo, and of Felixstowe.

At the time of the war Allenby's campaign in the Holy Land was a side show to which little attention was paid in this country. The big show on the western front took all our time. But now, in the general taking stock at the end of the first decade since the Armistice, and in view of Lord Allenby's visit to this country, it has come into its own. It was the dream of a thousand years come true. What had happened was this:

Things in the Holy Land had gone rather badly with the British, all in all, since the beginning of the war. The Turks, after a spectacular advance through the wilderness of Sinai, had come to the Suez Canal itself, and threatened that vital highway of the British empire. A new commander had thrown them back across the wilderness again, but when he sought to smash them he came close to being smashed himself, in two battles before the ancient Philistine city of Gaza.



GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM TEN YEARS AGO

Then "Bull" Allenby was sent to take command. This man, born in 1861, and trained in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, had been given his nickname because of his roaring voice, displayed to advantage when he was a young cavalry officer in the Boer War. Allenby put a new spirit into the breast of the Tommies and Anzacs who made up the British Army in the Holy Land. He reopened the drinking places which had been closed, saying he would rather have a drunken army than a stale one—and had neither. Every man was given a short leave in Cairo, and ornamental officers were broken in rank right and left. The fighting temper of the army began to rise.

Allenby's campaign has been called the nearest thing to a perfect campaign in history. Once he took command there was no more hesitating, no missteps, no defeats. He swept all before him in the lands between Dan and Beersheba. Finally came the victory that overwhelmed the Turks, and won Jerusalem.

The city had been under oppressive foreign rule pretty steadily for two thousand five hundred years, ever since Israel had been led to Babylon in captivity. It had been the aim of the Crusades to capture it for Christendom; but they had failed. And now a British General succeeded. It was no victorious entry that he made through the gates of the holy city, but an unostentatious march on foot.

This brief sketch of Allenby's career is taken from an article by Lowell Thomas, biographer of Lawrence of Arabia, who was with Allenby in the Holy Land. It was published in the Sunday Magazine of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

## The Sale of a Nation

HIGH UP on the shoulders of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, lies an autonomous state. It is not large, having a citizenry of some 5,000, and extending over hardly more than one valley for a total of 175 square miles. This is the Republic of Andorra, famous for its unspoiled villages and ancient customs, some of which have not changed since the establishment of the little country as an independent unit in 1278.



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

#### IN ANDORRA, WHERE LIFE HAS HARDLY CHANGED SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES

The telephone wire at the top of the picture is the only evidence of modern times to be seen. The village shown is San Julien de Loria, one of the larger villages in this tiny republic situated in the Pyrenees. A syndicate has bought the right to exploit Andorra by turning it into a fashionable resort.

Now comes the news that Andorra has been sold—sold for exploitation to a syndicate of Paris and Strasbourg financiers, who plan to turn it into a mountain Monte Carlo.

"The syndicate is reported to have a capital of \$4,500,000," says a despatch to the *New York Times*, "and has already begun the work of making its property accessible to tourists. New roads [there had hardly been more than trails before] are being built through the mountain passes. A railroad has been constructed from Barcelona and by 1930, when Andorra will burst into sophisticated glory, there will be a railway line from Toulouse."

Poverty is the cause of Andorra's falling on evil days. The once thickly wooded valley has been stripped, and though its southern slopes were carefully cultivated to produce tobacco, grain, potatoes, and fruit, their produce was not enough to supply a life blood of commerce for the inhabitants.

Smuggling therefore became an important means of livelihood, but, continues the *Times*, "too strict attention by the Spanish and French customs officers to the activities of the smugglers has caused a serious falling off in the little republic's revenue. So it has sold itself

out to the foreigner and henceforth will live on the proceeds of gambling."

The new syndicate has acquired mining, water-power and tobacco rights, but hopes to find its main profits in the gambling-rooms. A de luxe hotel is being built at Lasescalades, a watering-place situated nearly a mile above sea-level, and a casino, golf-links, tennis-courts, and lakes for swimming are to be provided. Apparently Andorra, hitherto a refuge for the traveler who wanted to escape the tourist crowd, can welcome him no more.

Andorra's simple government is autonomous, though under the protection of the Spanish Bishop of Urgel and the French crown, now represented by the President of France. Rivalry between Spain and France, coupled with inaccessibility, have hitherto preserved the medieval charm of the countryside.

Though the population includes a few comparatively wealthy landowners, who speak French fluently and send their children to France for an education, the greater part of the population, which is all Catholic, speaks the Catalan dialect of Spain. They are, according to the *Times*, "the swarthiest, boniest, and most taciturn people in Europe."



THE RUSSIAN COUNTERPART OF THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

Under Bolshevik rule an educational drive is being carried on in Russia to-day. The photograph shows a group of older students. Since under the Czarist régime few children of the common people went to school, an attempt is now being made to educate adults as well as children.

## Schools in the New Russia

“FOR thirty-six hours we had been riding east from Berlin. A change of train, we turned south and for nineteen hours we crossed the limitless plains. What would be the condition of education in the land from which we had had so few facts in the past few years?” So thought Prof. Harold E. Clark, of Columbia University, as his train rolled smoothly from Poland into uncharted Soviet Russia. His conclusions on Bolshevik educational methods appear in the *Educational Review*.

Professor Clark takes the district of Kiev, five hundred miles south of Moscow, as a good specimen of Soviet organization, after visiting schools in Odessa, Sebastopol, Simferopol, Kharkov, Leningrad, and Moscow. There are 1,500,000 people in the Kiev district, about one-third living in the city. The district is in the heart of the Ukraine, which has a total population of 28,000,000.

Kindergarten is for children from four to seven and a half; a four-year school from seven and a half to eleven and a half; a three-year school from twelve to fifteen; pre-

vocational school from fifteen to seventeen or eighteen; then vocational schools—including the universities and technical schools—for three or four years. In the school district one-third of the budget goes for education.

“By 1930 it is planned to have all children of school age in school. At the present time (1927) there are 35 per cent. more children in school than there were before the war, 90 per cent. of the eight and nine-year-old children are in school now,” says the writer. The teachers are trained by theoretical courses in education and in subject-matter courses, and also by practical part-time experience in the schools. When his training is completed, the teacher is sent to work wherever needed, by the Republic, which pays from twenty-five to thirty dollars per month. At the end of twenty-five years the teacher may retire on a pension.

Teaching methods employed for the first four years emphasize material near the school, and proceed from what the child knows already. A school in an agricultural district studies the life of the village; conventional mathematics, geography, history, and the like, are brought in only to help the child to understand the social and economic life of that



village. In the next three years a theme is taken as exchange between the village and the city. Students work up different parts of the subject and report on them. The Russians declare the method to be a fundamental part of their economic order.

In the Kiev district—with its 1,500,000 people—there are now only 125,000 illiterates, a much reduced figure due to adult schools and factory educational facilities. Of these, 20,000 will be educated this year, according to the district's educational plans. America may object strenuously to Soviet economic policies, concludes Professor Clark, but Soviet educational experiments are well worth study and might even be profitable to us.

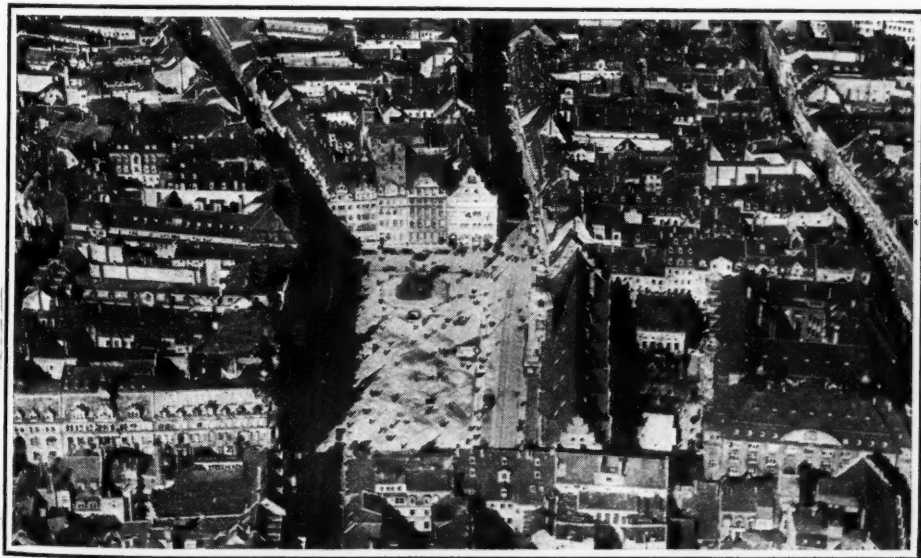
## A Cross-Roads of World Trade

THERE are fairs and fairs of varying degree, but the great industrial *Messe* held semi-annually at Leipzig, Germany, is in a class by itself in dignity, prestige, and service to the business men of many nations. It has been held without interruption for nearly 700

years; even the Thirty Years War, the Napoleonic, and the World Wars could not stop it. It owes its origin to the fact that the ancient North-South and East-West caravan routes crossed at Leipzig, making it the trade center of Medieval Europe. By keeping up with the times this venerable institution has become a trade center of the modern world.

"America has participated in the Leipzig Fair for a century," writes Herbert A. Johnson, American representative to the Fair, in *Export Trade and Finance*. "The old records show that almost 100 years ago a party of twelve American merchants made the long and dangerous journey across the Atlantic by sailing vessels to attend the Leipzig Fair. . . . To-day America sends over 2,000 buyers regularly to the Leipzig Fair, and more than fifty exhibits of its products."

This fair is nothing like the world expositions which are held periodically in various countries. There are no amusement features of any kind, and admission is given solely by invitation to eliminate idle crowds of sightseers. "Every detail of the Fair is arranged for the convenience of business men, and to facilitate the transaction of business. . . . The Leipzig Fair has the unique distinction of being profitable for all



OLD LEIPZIG IN SAXONY, GERMANY, AS SEEN FROM THE AIR

Under the surface of the market place in this picture is an exhibition hall of the Leipzig Fair, large enough for the displays of 200 manufacturing firms from all over the world. The Leipzig Fair, a semi-annual market devoted strictly to business, is more than 700 years old.

concerned." It comes twice a year for periods of one week, at the end of February and at the end of August.

At a recent fair there were present 200,000 buyers from forty-three different countries, and at another there were 10,000 exhibits from twenty-two countries on display. American automobile manufacturers have furnished nearly nine-tenths of the exhibits in their field upon several occasions, and even an American toy manufacturer displayed his wares.

"Practically every large department store in the United States is regularly represented at the Leipzig Fair," says Mr. Johnson. "One store had no less than fifteen buyers at the fair last spring. The chain stores are also large buyers. . . . The banking question is so arranged that transactions can be completed as conveniently as in one's home town."

Writing again of the fair in the *American Monthly*, Mr. Johnson remarks: "The American buyer finds at Leipzig a great cosmopolitan market-place exactly suited to his needs. Since more than a score of countries regularly send exhibits to the fair, the group becomes much the largest, as it is the oldest international exchange in the world. From long experience in organizing and conducting the exchange, the exhibits are efficiently grouped for the convenience of the visiting buyer. The visitor can see more in a few days at the Leipzig Fair than in weeks of travel to the widely scattered European markets."

## Three Men in a League

IN SOME ways, the three men upon whom the success of the League of Nations is most vitally dependent are Aristide Briand, Gustav Stresemann, and Sir Eric Drummond. Upon Briand and Stresemann, because they represent the two great nations whose antagonisms must be repudiated if the League is to have permanent value; upon Sir Eric Drummond, because he controls the machinery by means of which the League actually functions.

Georges Ottlik, in the *Revue de Genève*, sketches the personal characteristics which have been of particular importance in their careers. Briand, who began his career as a radical Socialist, has become the conciliating influence in French politics, both internal and external. He quotes, for example, Briand's own remark on one occasion when asked if he was about to form a new government:

"The situation is not good enough so that the position tempts me; and it is not so bad that anyone dreams of offering it to me." Paralleling this, and illustrating Briand's self-confessed laziness as regards detail, is Clemenceau's slightly sarcastic "Poincaré knows everything and understands nothing; Briand knows nothing, but understands everything."

Stresemann, says the writer, is the perfect type of efficient German bourgeois, capable



Gustav Stresemann



Sir Eric Drummond



Aristide Briand

THREE PROMINENT COGS IN THE MACHINERY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

and decisive, representing an entirely new element in German politics. He is strongly nationalistic, yet he recognizes that Germany must be rebuilt on a policy of conciliation, rather than revenge. And this program he proposes to carry out with characteristic energy and directness. His manner is cold and logical. His speeches are enlivened with neither humor nor sarcasm, but they make their point with a relentless effectiveness.

His nationalism is illustrated by his statement that "we know that the world has received more from us than it has ever returned," and he is an implacable foe of "the spirit of which the treaty of Versailles is the result"; but at the same time he speaks of a war for revenge as senseless, and he concludes:

"One desire unites us all—it is to live until the day when, thanks to reason and to reconciliation, our people will once again be free, on a free soil."

Sir Eric Drummond, younger son of a family which dates back to the Tenth Century, which has supplied two kings of Scotland and has been allied with the royal family of England, is officially the reserved, conservative type of English executive. His policy with the League of Nations has been prudent, sometimes almost reactionary, but he never has to go back to correct mistakes. And on occasions such as the incipient war between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925, he can act swiftly and decisively.

## A German Conquest

A FOREIGN invader has swept triumphantly across the American silver screen amidst the plaudits of critics and sophisticated movie-goers. He has brought something new and telling to our rather limited movie art. Many call him the greatest character actor of today on either stage or screen; and he has brought to the moving-picture story that great

innovation—the unhappy ending. In his hands, the moving picture has become more realistic, less mushy. This is Art, but is it Business? Box office response to his work has not been so hearty as that of the critics.



EMIL JANNINGS

The German character-rôle actor, in his latest American picture, "The Patriot."

This man is Herr Emil Jannings of Berlin and Hollywood, and of him Helena Huntington Smith writes in a recent issue of the *Outlook*. "Two years ago, with great blowing of trumpets and beating of the publicity drum the Paramount-Famous-Lasky Corporation paraded its latest foreign conquest on these shores," she writes. "How would this huge heavy man, with his unromantic features and his thinning hair, fare in their treacherous love stories? . . . Jannings has made four American pictures, and one of them, 'The Street of Sin,' is as bad as the prophets of gloom expected them all to be. The other three have their ups and downs, it is true, but when the worst is said 'The Last

Command' and 'The Patriot' are adult and moving stories, and they give him a chance for two of the finest performances of his life."

Jannings had made a great name for himself in Europe before he came to America. He played in "Du Barry," which came to America as "Passion," along with Lubitsch and Pola Negri. There were also "Deception," "The Tragedy of Love," "The Loves of Pharaoh," and "The Last Laugh." This, says Miss Smith, "was a tragedy in monotone, the subdued and altogether harrowing story of a hotel doorman who lost his job and his uniform. This flawless thing, directed by F. W. Murnau, remains to many people the best motion picture ever made. And these people, unlike the distributors, were unmoved by the news that the picture was a financial failure. Then came "Variety," a financial as well as an artistic success, after which Herr Jannings came to the United States.

Jannings was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., of German parents, who took him back to Europe

at the age of ten months. At sixteen he joined a traveling stock company at a dollar per week. In 1906 Max Reinhardt, Germany's premier producer, carried him off to Berlin—for by this time the bumpkin had become a skilled stock actor. "Under Reinhardt, during the next eight years, he became one of the best known actors on the Continental stage, playing Shakespeare, Ibsen, Schiller, Strindberg. When the war broke out his Brooklyn birth saved him from the inconveniences of military service, but war-time salaries pinched. It was at this crisis, in 1915, that the movies were suggested to him by Ernst Lubitsch." Into them he went.

After his Berlin production of "The Last Laugh" the Americans were after him, but he insisted that he have some voice in the selection of plots for the proposed American pictures. The producers were unwilling to concede this, remembering "The Last Laugh."

"But 'Variety,' which followed it, having combined art and profit, Jannings won his contract from the eager producers. His first Hollywood effort was 'The Way of All Flesh,' a bad picture redeemed by his acting and by skilful directing. Then came 'The Street of Sin,' so bad that the producers became self-conscious and did not dare release it until they had redeemed themselves by making 'The Last Command,' a telling success.

Jannings has made himself quite at home in Hollywood, eating being his prime diversion, according to Miss Smith. He loads his table with heavy German viands, and sends his guests away stuffed to repletion and threatened with chronic dyspepsia. He is not averse to alcoholic beverages, and fear of American Prohibition is said to have delayed his coming to our shores. He enjoys driving a fast motor at a fast clip.

Also he is markedly clannish, clinging to the society of the little group of Berliners who share his exile in sunny California. Ernst Lubitsch and Lothar Mendes, Hans Kraly and Conrad Veidt, are his companions; to say nothing of his wife, Gussie Holl. A few years ago this tolerant blonde lady was a vaudeville actress almost as well known to European audiences as Jannings himself, but she gave it up to become general manager for her husband.

Although "in this country Jannings is a prosperous enough investment, he does not gross as much, in film parlance, as for instance, that famous exponent of It, Miss Clara Bow. But

"in Europe he is the biggest money-maker the company has."

Emil Jannings can not be called an intellectual, says Miss Smith. But he has a profound and intuitive sense of character, so that "an inner voice murmurs, unbidden: 'This man is great.'"

## Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt

LEADERS of both political parties become thoughtful when her name is mentioned. Many of them seem a bit bewildered. With the respect freely accorded her there is also apparent a vague feeling of faint surprise, almost of pained reproach.

"Who," they seem silently to ask themselves, "would have thought it of her?"

In the *Woman's Journal* Winifred Mallon thus describes the politician's opinion of Mrs. Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States. Mrs. Willebrandt has attracted considerable attention to herself by her political speeches in favor of Mr. Hoover and Prohibition. Because of her appeal that Methodist ministers in Ohio work against Governor Smith, she has been charged with bringing religion into the campaign by urging a church to go into partisan politics. Before that she burst into sudden political prominence by her activity at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City last June.

Miss Mallon thus describes her:

"She is young, she is pretty, she looks at you, disarmingly, with wide, earnest, trustful brown eyes, behind which functions one of the keenest legal minds in the United States." And again: "A small woman, with a round girlish face, perfect complexion, wavy brown hair brushed backward and down to be turned under in a small knot low at the back of her beautifully shaped head."

Mrs. Willebrandt lives in a house in Washington with two other women who are in the Government service, and with her adopted daughter. This daughter, now five, was adopted when she was not quite two, for Mrs. Willebrandt has no children of her own. Called Dorothy, the girl last year renamed herself Mabel, Jr.

Born in a Kansas "soddy" of pioneer stock, Mrs. Willebrandt is strictly a self-made woman.



Her childhood was spent in several States, with education picked up in schools along the way. Yet at seventeen she was teaching a country school, and at twenty was principal of a school for girls in California. For some years she combined wage earning with housework, marriage with a profession. She studied law, achieving both Bachelor and Master of Laws degrees from the University of Southern California.

In 1915 she was admitted to the bar in Los Angeles, and soon after was appointed Assistant Public Defender to act in cases brought against women. At the same time she sought to build up a private practice, and had made a good beginning when appointed Assistant Attorney-General in 1921.

There she has charge of prosecution of Prohibition cases. Miss Mallon reports, however, that her interest is purely professional, since Mrs. Willebrandt had no part in the movement which brought the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It is generally overlooked that Prohibition cases take only half her time; she has charge also of tax laws and of the Bureau of Federal Prisoners.

During last year's term of the Supreme Court, writes Miss Mallon, of the eleven oral arguments made by her before the United States Supreme Court six were in Prohibition enforcement cases, four of which she won; four were in tax cases, and one an argument in two probation cases.

## Dr. Watson, Behaviorist

WHEN the Professor of Experimental and Comparative Psychology at Johns Hopkins University became vice-president of the J. Walter Thompson advertising company, ordinary men may have wondered. Not so with those who had learned to know and therefore to respect the ideals and methods of the modern advertising agency.

Dr. John Broadus Watson, during his academic career and afterwards, has written



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### MRS. WILLEBRANDT AND HER DAUGHTER

Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt has recently attracted much attention by her political speeches. The adopted daughter, is named Dorothy.

several books which have attained far more than passing fame—one on "Behavior," followed by two others on "Behaviorism," and in addition a volume entitled "Psychological Care of Infant and Child." Some further infant studies are referred to in the article which follows this one. In the great and growing field of psychology, therefore, and as one successful in bringing that science down to the comprehension of the man and woman in the street, Dr. Watson is looked up to with respect and even awe. Thus we find him the subject of a character sketch by Kenneth Macgowan in *The New Yorker*.

While still a postgraduate student at Chicago University, we are told by this author, Watson won attention through studies in the behavior of rats. A maze, it seems, is something like a broad highway to a rat; he gets out with little difficulty, and he gets out the second time over the same route.

"Science said it was eyesight or hearing or the sensory nerves of nose and feet. So Watson blinded and deafened his rats and anesthetized their skins and put them into mazes and watched them get out just as expeditiously as the normal, thoroughly equipped rodents. Rats that couldn't see, hear, or feel ran down corridors and turned corners—or bumped into walls if the corners were changed—just the way they had done before. Scientists thought that Watson had proved that the muscular-nervous system has a memory." The anti-vivisectionists flayed him alive. It was later, at Johns Hopkins University, that he turned his attention to babies.

When Dr. Watson began to apply his scientific knowledge to the sale of commercial products he sold coffee to grocers for seventy-five days, and sold groceries for two months in a department store. After that and similar experiences he was ready to shape sales campaigns along lines suggested by his scientific training: "He made glands sell tooth-paste, and he has conditioned housewives and commuters into all sorts of prejudices about coffee.



DR. JOHN B. WATSON

A prominent psychologist and author of several works on behaviorism, Dr. Watson is now vice-president of an advertising company.

"One of the most interesting things that Watson did during his six years in advertising," continues Mr. Macgowan, "was a laboratory research into cigarette smoking. With the aid of sixteen men and four women he proved that even the most hardened adorer of a particular brand of cigarette can't recognize his favorite smoke when he is blindfolded or prevented in any other way from seeing the label."

Dr. Watson was born in South Carolina fifty years ago, is a graduate of Furman University in that same State, and served as a major in aviation during the war.

## Behaviorist Babies

IF SOCIETY wants to go on forever making one generation pretty much like the old, it has only to go on as it is. But if it wants to change, if it is willing to readjust itself to new ideas of living as it is to new ideas of transportation and communication, the behaviorist is ready to suggest ways and means.

That is the argument of John B. Watson, founder of the behaviorist school of psychology. A behaviorist is one who studies the mind not by speculating on its workings, or by analyzing it, but who confines himself to experiments with the observable behavior of animals and men. Dr. Watson's work has led him to some rather new ideas on how children should be brought up.

The *Cosmopolitan* now publishes an article by him explaining these ideas. The argument of it is that, if parents will heed the behaviorist, they can work wonders with their children.

"We have all grown up, except for the amenities and the three R's, very much like Topsy—especially in our emotional organization," declares Dr. Watson. It is this that he wants to change, so that the inherent possibilities in human beings, through wise direction, are brought to full flower:

"I personally never have met a genius. I have met a lot of men who by hard work have become proficient in their fields, and as time went on, I have seen sudden changes place some of them in positions where almost overnight they could shine as geniuses. No; geniuses, like other people are made—not born."

The behaviorist does not care whether a baby's ancestors "were hung for horse-stealing or burned at the stake as religious martyrs, whether his forebears came from the May-

flower or from Second Avenue. If the baby is all there at birth, he can become, depending on his 'slanting' or conditioning, a musician, poet, honest artisan or a dishonest thieving Jack of all trades."

It was this point of view which sent the behaviorists into the nursery. What they found there made them challenge "a lot of moss-covered folklore about the make-up of human beings."

Every-day observation shows that men and women, so far as their emotional behavior is concerned, are creatures given to fear, to love, to anger, and to other emotions in varying combinations. Take fear as an example. Are we born with the fears to which we all seem subject?

No, answers Dr. Watson. "The results of our laboratory studies show that nothing will arouse fear in a child except loud noises and loss of support. Take a new-born baby or an older baby whose history you know and strike a dish-pan behind his head. The baby stiffens, holds its breath, begins to cry, and, if older, to crawl away. The same behavior is exhibited if the infant is lying quietly on a blanket and you suddenly pull it from under him."

He can be shown frogs, fish, snakes, or worms; he can have sunlight flashed suddenly into his eyes, or any number of things done to him. None will frighten him. Yet he can be made pitifully afraid of the mere sight of a rabbit, if for a time a loud noise is made each time the rabbit is shown. Hence Dr. Watson concludes that our adult fears are all acquired.

This same principle he applies to the other emotions of man, and to other aspects of his training. Therefore he concludes:

"We can nurture him [a baby] with or without fear—to be sulky and temper-ridden or cheerful and sunny, to steal other people's property or give it a holy respect. We can teach him to be an orator without knowing how to think—or a thinker without knowing how to orate. If all of these things are not under the control of society, then the behaviorist has made an awful havoc of his life's work."



"CONDITIONED" TO FEAR FURRY ANIMALS

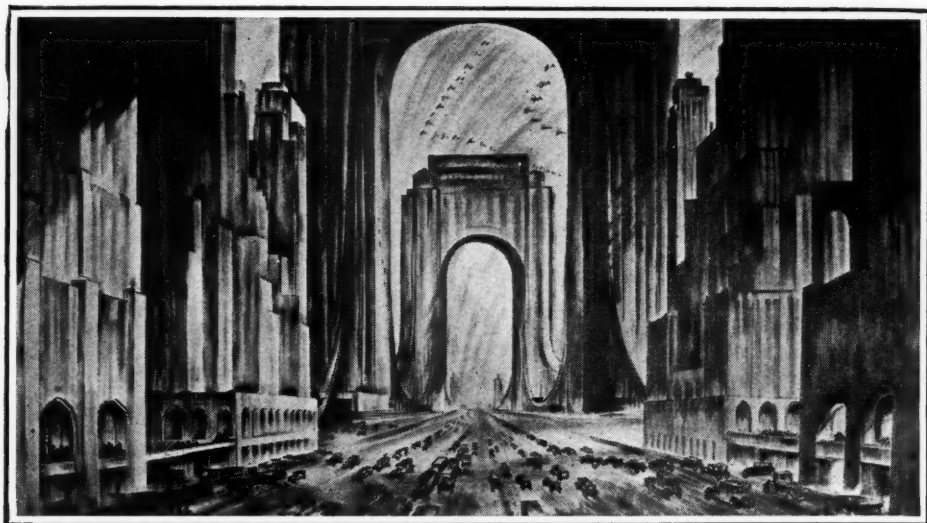
When this baby first saw a rat he showed no fear. In the course of Dr. Watson's experiments he was conditioned so that he cried at the sight of a dog, the white rat shown in this picture, a muff, and even Santa Claus's whiskers.

## America's Population To-morrow

WE ARE accustomed to think of our present population of some 116,000,000 as forming a respectably large nation. Yet if between 1920 and the year 2000 the number grows at the same rate as between 1880 and 1920, at the end of the century Americans will number no less than 463,000,000. Fortunately, however, indications are that this is not to be.

"In view of the interest in population growth and the practical value that accurate estimates would have, the Scripps Foundation is presenting another exhibit of what the future may have in store," writes P. K. Whelpton of Miami University in the September *American Journal of Sociology*. "These predictions have one point of difference which may distinguish them. Other population estimates are based almost entirely on the size of the population in the past." The new ones are based on foundations thought to be more accurate.

After figuring out survival rates, birth-rates, immigration, and rural-urban migration for the future years of the twentieth century by an elaborate system of tables, a rather remarkable discovery is made. Only 175,000,000 persons are indicated for 1975, and about 186,000,000 for 2000. The rate of increase



A VISION OF THE AMERICA OF 1975

This drawing by the architect Harvey W. Corbett depicts the broad bridges which he believes will connect the boroughs of New York City with one another half a century hence. Many similar prophecies are based on the expectation of a vastly increased population. Sociologists now find evidence, however, that our population in 1975 will not be more than 175,000,000.

steadily declines from 15 per cent. for the 1910 to 1920 decade, to 4.7 per cent. for the decade of 1965-1975.

"The years of mushroom growth which have been characteristic of the United States in the last century seem to be definitely numbered," continues Mr. Whelpton. "Industrial programs which are based on a doubling of population in thirty-five or forty years will need to be carefully scrutinized. In the past much reckless expansion in manufacturing plants, real estate additions, and the like has later been credited to the foresight of a business genius because the rapid growth of population soon caught up with his work. In the future there will not be so great an increase of population to rush to the rescue."

Restricted immigration will cut in half the proportion of foreign-born whites, while the increase in native whites will a little more than offset this decline.

In conclusion the writer adds: "It is true that striking medical discoveries may cause the population to vary upward from these predictions. More likely, however, wars or a greater practice of birth control may cause a variation downward." His estimates, he says, are based on the experience of recent years.

## Man's Place in the Universe

OF THE thousand million stars now visible through the largest telescopes, is there any on which life comparable to that of this planet exists? This has long been a subject for human speculation, with no conclusion reached because of lack of evidence. The position of science to-day on this point is summarized in *Harpers* by Arthur Stanley Eddington, professor of astronomy in the University of Cambridge, and one of the great astronomers of the world.

The account of the universe he gives, with its incredibly far-flung star systems stretching out into a space that curves back upon itself, with its past reaching back into the millions of centuries, is too detailed to be reproduced here. Suffice it to summarize his observations, which are themselves summaries of the infinitely complex studies of astronomers, in which the evidence for the habitability of other earths is merely a passing incident.

"We survey first the planets of the solar systems," writes Professor Eddington; "of these only Venus and Mars seem at all eligible."



Venus appears well adapted to life like ours. It is the same size as the earth and a little warmer. Spectroscopic observation has not inclined astronomers to believe that free oxygen exists there; and the skies of Venus are perpetually clouded. There is some reason to believe that it may be entirely covered with one vast ocean, which would mean that if there were life at all, it would be in a world of fishes.

As for Mars, it is smaller than the earth, and has both air and water, though the supply is scanty. The surface of Mars shows a seasonal change such as the forest-clad earth might show to the Martian onlooker. It is thus possible that this is the annual awakening of vegetation so familiar on the earth. In other words, there may be plants. And if plants, why not animals, men? Astronomy has no further evidence to offer here, declares Professor Eddington, and if laymen choose to believe there are inhabitants on Mars they must do so on their own responsibility.

"If the planets of the solar system should fail us," continues Professor Eddington, "there remain some thousands of millions of stars which we have been accustomed to regard as suns ruling attendant systems of planets. It has seemed a presumption, bordering almost

on impiety, to deny to them life of the same order of creation as ourselves."

Yet for a variety of astronomical reasons the chances that these embody the conditions necessary for the support of life are limited indeed. "I presume," continues Professor Eddington, "that at the end of the weeding out there will be left a few rival earths dotted here and there about the universe." He then concludes:

"I do not think that the whole purpose of the Creation has been staked on the one planet where we live; and in the long run we can not deem ourselves the only race that has been or will be gifted with the mystery of consciousness. But I feel inclined to claim that *at the present time* our race is supreme; and not one of the profusion of stars in their myriad clusters looks down on scenes comparable to those which are passing beneath the rays of the sun."

## Showcases of Civilization

PTOLEMY I. of Egypt is the first person known by history to have thought of such a thing as a museum. This he did in 283 B. C., and forthwith established one in connection



AN EXHIBIT IN ONE OF HISTORY'S SHOWCASES

Life among the Hopi Indians, as reproduced in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. By preserving records of life which otherwise would be obliterated in the advance of civilization, museums perform an invaluable service for the historian and citizen of the future.

with the great University of Alexandria. Here were assembled examples of all man's accomplishments and learning, and appropriately enough it earned the name of *museion* or sanctuary of the Muses, ancient goddesses of learning.

But after this museum was destroyed in the fire which consumed Alexandria some time after 50 A. D., the importance of museums as aids to learning and culture was forgotten, writes Robert Naumberg in the *Repertory*, bulletin of the National Museum of Engineering and Industry. The museums of the middle ages were nothing but helter-skelter collections of trophies brought home from the wars, works of art commissioned by the Church or individual princes to commemorate their deeds.

Sir Francis Bacon it was who resurrected the idea of a museum as an adjunct to learning. In the "New Atlantis," published in 1627, he sang the praises of a collection which would be representative of the civilization of the day, and of everything which had a part in the development of that civilization. The British Museum, the first museum in Europe, was designed to carry out his ideas.

No sooner was the Museum begun in 1753, writes Mr. Naumberg, than "it was found to furnish the best agency for preserving the records of advancing knowledge. It attracted students of universities who, in a few years, by their investigations began not only to add to the sum of human knowledge, but by their

publications to shed light upon the institutions with which they were connected." Today it is one of the greatest museums of the world, and the hundreds of others that have sprung up in Europe and America have witnessed to the value of accumulating and making available the records of artistic and scientific progress.

The first museum in America was the gift of an Englishman. James Smithson, a British chemist and mineralogist, gave half-a-million dollars to Congress in 1826 "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." After due deliberation, Congress authorized the foundation of the Smithsonian Institution. Here all the material which had been accumulated and stored away in government cellars was at last properly cared for. The fossils, mineralogical and ethnological specimens brought back by such expeditions as the Lewis and Clark exploration of the northwest, the investigations of the source of the Mississippi River, and other government-fostered ventures, were assembled, and proved invaluable aids in studying our country.

Today everywhere remarkable and extensive museums are to be found where one can study the evolution of man and civilization from their earliest days. In Europe many museums are devoted to the records of the development of modern industry. These museums, of increasing value, need a counterpart in the United States, says Mr. Naumberg. "What we need now are museums to chronicle the steps



AN APACHE INDIAN GROUP IN THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

in our industrial progress. They should contain the models of inventions and their places in the processes which have brought about our present civilization, and which indicate the direction in which progress is advancing." Innumerable inventions have in recent years revolutionized our living conditions, yet nowhere can the rising generation go to study the steps which have brought about the changes."



## Something New Under the Sun

### USING PAPER TO MAKE GARDEN CROPS FLOURISH

Covering the earth between rows of plants in your garden with waterproof paper will bring additional moisture to hasten their growth, and will retard the appearance of weeds.

**M**AKING two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, grow where only one grew before is the time-honored aim of all scientific farmers. Now comes another aid to bigger and better crops, particularly in the backyard vegetable garden—the use of paper mulch. If this is presented here as a new idea, some reader will discover that it was used in the Garden of Eden; but since the story is told by a Department of Agriculture official, in a responsible farm journal founded by the late Secretary Meredith, it may come as news even to men of the soil.

Dr. Lewis H. Flint, in *Better Homes and Gardens*, writes about what he calls a magic carpet which "does away with hoeing, keeps down weeds, conserves moisture, and hastens germination."

The paper should be black and waterproof, rolls eighteen inches wide preferred. "The soil should be prepared in the usual way to obtain a smooth surface. Then a strip of paper is laid down and held firmly with straight-topped staples made of No. 10 wire placed every five feet. Along the edge of the paper a shallow drill is made with a trowel or hoe, and the seeds are planted or covered. The next strip of paper is then laid alongside, at a space of about an inch, and the planting continued."

This paper mulch proves effective in a number of ways, Dr. Flint explains. Its heat-absorbing property raises the temperature of the soil and thereby hastens germination in a number of crops. It also reduces evaporation

of water from the soil surface, and reduces transpiration of water through the weed growth that would otherwise develop. The mulch, moreover, carries the water which may fall through rains or sprinklings directly to the region of the plant roots. In one government test there was six times as much available water in the top four inches of soil under the mulch as there was in the same soil in the open. Thus the method not only forces the crops, but saves much labor.

The increase of soil temperature and soil moisture combine to bring about a more rapid plant development. In addition the weed crop is starved, since the paper keeps sunlight and moisture away from all except the crop plants.

Paper mulch had been used successfully by pineapple growers before it was experimented with by the Department of Agriculture, but it is for the home gardener that the scheme seems to be of especial promise. Dr. Flint says:

"He has long since refrained from the humiliating practice of evaluating his crops in terms of current market prices. He will not begrudge the expense of paper mulch if it survives his enthusiasm for the hoe and supplants in a substantial measure the necessity for hoeing. He will not begrudge the expense if it enables him to grow crops which heretofore normally have not been grown in his region. He will not begrudge the expense of paper mulch if it stays on the job while he takes a vacation. There is a fair prospect that paper mulch will do all of these things and more."

## Education Pays Cash

**T**HREE thousand four hundred dollars a year. That is the difference in average yearly earnings between the college and the high-school graduate between the ages of twenty-five and sixty. The high-school graduate in turn earns on an average \$1,100 a year more than the elementary school graduate. These are the conclusions drawn from an exhaustive study of the relation of education to income, which supports the growing American belief in the value—material as well as spiritual—of education.

The survey, made under the direction of Everett W. Lord, showed that "the saturation point in education has not been reached and probably never will be reached, for the increasing complexity of life calls for constant educational advantages," and that "the dollar spent for education, by the public or the individual, goes out only to bring back ten."

Bankers, bakers, clergymen, actors and candlestick-makers, 7,396 of them, were included in this investigation, which was made by the business-college fraternity Alpha Kappa Psi. The report is now published in pamphlet form.

Roughly one-twentieth of those whose schooling had ended with the elementary grades re-

ported incomes normally belonging in the higher educational grades. This need not be discouraging to those who have had to do without much schooling, for one grammar-school graduate told of earning \$61,000 a year. Yet he and those others who rose above the general level for this group were exceptions. Their median income was highest in the ages forty to forty-four, when it averaged \$1,700.

High-school graduates who had not gone to college showed their highest median income from the age of forty-five to fifty-four, when it reached \$2,800. There were exceptions in this group also, though the highest figure given as a year's income was \$34,000.

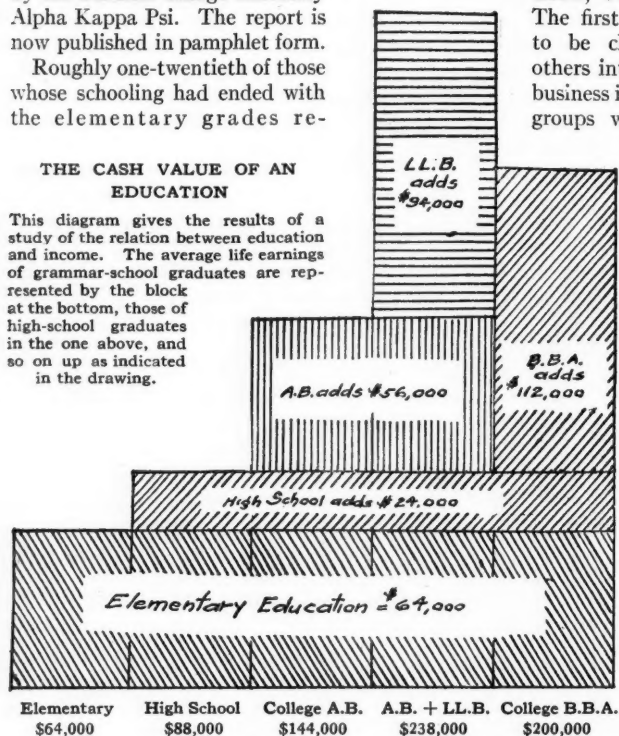
College graduates were classified in several groups. Those with an A.B. degree reported as their highest income \$25,000, and the median income for them all was greatest between sixty to sixty-four years, when it averaged \$6,200. Those college graduates with a degree in business administration were highest of all, their top median income, between forty-five and forty-nine, being \$11,500.

Other college graduates include those with M.A., Ph.D., law and medical degrees. The first two of these groups were taken to be chiefly teachers, professors, and others interested in education rather than business income. Median income for both groups was highest between forty and

forty-four. That for the M.A.'s was \$4,750, and that for the Doctors of Philosophy was \$5,000. Both these groups, however, reported in numbers too small to draw authoritative conclusions, though it may be that they are typical of professional incomes. Incomes from law graduates ran from \$700 to \$43,000, and those of doctors from \$1,750 to \$16,000.

Another part of the study was devoted to total life earnings—to all the money, in other words, earned by a man during his working years. This part of the report, typical of the whole study, discusses the facts and figures on which the accompanying diagram is based, and concludes:

"Perhaps one of the most





striking facts . . . is the relative value of elementary education. The eight years of primary school are worth considerably more than twice the four years of secondary school; they are worth more than four years of the liberal arts college.

"This elementary education provides a good foundation on which to build higher; like any foundation, this is of first importance, but it is unfortunate that so many are satisfied with the foundation alone."

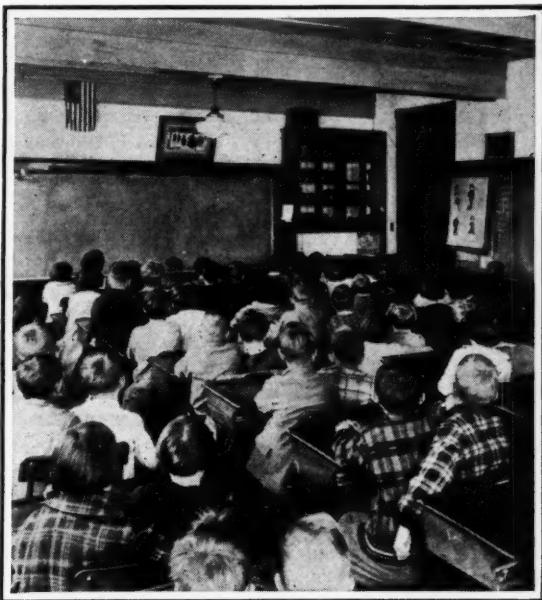
## Good Music Comes to the Schools

A KINDLY, white-haired man steps to the front of a stage in a well-filled auditorium. Instantly the thousand children who make up the audience fall into eager silence. They have been to these gatherings before; they know what to expect.

In a beautiful voice with a touch of foreign accent the man tells them about a musician in a distant land and time, composing music in a garret room. He takes the children with him into that room; makes them see what the musician set out to do. Turning to a piano behind him, he shows them what the musician did, and how he did it. He explains "This is what the violins say" and "This is the flute." He unravels the story of that music before them as though it were a fairy-tale. They feel, they *know* the music they are hearing.

Hitherto only the fortunate children of New York City have been able to hear Walter Damrosch's children's concerts. Beginning this fall, school children all over the country are having their share. Through the radio, Mr. Damrosch's voice will be broadcast in every State. Every Friday morning during the school year, twenty-eight radio stations will relay to hundreds of thousands of listening youngsters the words and descriptive playing of this dean of American music.

The plan is described in the *Journal of the National Education Association*. It is the cause of great rejoicing among music teachers everywhere, who look forward to these concerts—designed for both younger and older children—



RADIO ENTERS THE SCHOOL

The success of radio as a teacher is shown in this picture, in which the attention of every pupil is fixed on the loud speaker, seen on top of the bookcase.

as a tremendous aid in the teaching of music. Such concerts as part of the regular school curriculum mark, moreover, an important advance in the use of the radio in the schools.

Then, too, points out the *Journal*, older people will be as fascinated by Mr. Damrosch's offerings as will the school children. Perhaps there is beginning a new epoch of popular appreciation of fine music.

## The Mercenary Modern Sportsman

SPORT covers a multitude of sins like hitting a golf ball hither and thither, motoring dustily between gas stations and cigarette advertisements, panting around a running track, or perhaps freezing in a late November dusk while incompleting forward passes fall to earth. Like a sense of humor, sport is subjective. Some like it, some don't. And there are signs that sport for sport's sake is losing its place in the American scene.

Such are the ideas of John R. Tunis, expressed in his book, "Sport\$."



THE GOLDEN CALF LURES THE SPORTSMAN

A jacket design for the book, "Sport\$," by John R. Tunis, in which the author points out the growing professionalism of amateur athletics.

"Those acquainted with the sport situation in the United States to-day are aware that there is hardly any difference or distinction between the amateur and the professional," says Tunis. "An accurate—if cynical—friend of mine puts it this way. All sportsmen, he declares, can be divided into two classes: professionals and 'practical' amateurs. The rest of the world of games—those who go round golf courses in ninety one afternoon and a hundred and eighteen the next—those who play a nice, fifth-rate game of tennis with the neighbors—do not count, he says, in the modern scheme of sports in this country. I am convinced that he is correct."

Of football, which is once again in full wing, Tunis has little to say that is kind. "At the present moment the list of colleges which have broken relations with other colleges is a fairly large one; Princeton, having broken with Pennsylvania years ago, has now broken with Harvard; the Army has broken with Syracuse; Columbia has broken with New York University; and the Navy has broken with the Army. These are some of the breaks publicly announced. Others are being kept under cover."

As to finance, the president of a western State university will undoubtedly have an easier time securing funds from his legislature with a winning team; and so will the president of an eastern institution, for the alumni will be generous if big-game bets and boasts are made good. Football has ceased to be a great game, concludes Mr. Tunis, but it has become the Great American Spectacle.

Lawn tennis, upon which Mr. Tunis is a recognized authority, he pronounces to be in an unhealthy state. Though there are more people enjoying the game than ever before, commercialism has spoiled the competitive side, while charges and counter-charges float about the Tennis Association. The leading tournament players are in tennis for what they can get out of it, and though they are not paid for their efforts, they are amply provided for when visiting and traveling. "Yet when all this has been said, one finds

it difficult to condemn amateur stars for taking what is offered them," Mr. Tunis maintains.

"There is no question as to which is now the greatest American game. The vote is for golf—by the whole electoral college," the author continues. Big Business has taken up golf officially, and you can even get golf insurance.

Mr. Tunis feels that abolition of the distinction between amateur and professional, which has prevailed since the Olympics of 700 B. C., now seems sure to come. This, though radical, would in his opinion probably be the most sensible step. In many sports the attitude of the amateur is entirely professional, and real professionals may be finer sportsmen and less commercially minded than amateurs. Pure amateurism in the year 1928 is impractical, if not impossible.

In conclusion, at the close of a rather pessimistic volume, the writer becomes more cheerful. He declares, "the hope for the future of American sport lies with the American undergraduate; those who know this youth best will assure you that he is a shrewd, level-headed, straight-thinking individual, and that the chances for a sounder outlook on the world of games is more hopeful at present than it has been at any time since sport began in this country."

Says Grantland Rice, the sports writer, in an introduction to the book: "The entire amateur system is in a bad way. No one can say just how many of his [Mr. Tunis's] conclusions are correct or incorrect. But in the main they are sound and should help in arranging changes that sooner or later must take place."

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# As Stated

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## MASCULINE MACHINE-GUNS, FEMININE CLUBS

There are more women's clubs in America than in any other country in the world. There are more women's clubs in the Middle-West than in any other part of America. And there are more women's clubs in Chicago than in any other part of the Middle-West.

ARTHUR MEEKER, JR., in the *Chicagoan*.

## SAFETY WITHIN A GILDED CAGE

The life span of a hare has been known to reach a dozen years, within the confines of a cage. In nature, five no doubt would be exceptional. Faltering faculties make a creature in the wild an easy prey to all the hunting world.

ROBERT T. HATT, in *Natural History*.

## FRENCH IDEAS

Alsace is logical, rational, a stranger to the desire for "Alsatianism" in politics and in the spiritual life. Further, she loves France who is her guide towards the future; the tradition of France being the defense of the world against irrational Eastern ideas and against an Americanism which is without charm and lacks human and esthetic refinement.

ERNEST BARTHÉLÉMY, in *La Revue Mondiale*.

## LESS LIQUOR—MORE LOVELINESS

Under prohibition the average man has more money to spend, and since he cannot spend it legally for liquor, he spends it for shaves, facials, haircuts and manicures. Men who buy hair tonic nowadays use it for hair tonic.

DR. JAMES DORAN, national prohibition commissioner, as quoted in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

## THE NON-SOLID FRAGMENTS

There are two Florida districts where the new immigration from the North gives the Republicans a new look-in. The Republicans have twice carried two Georgia districts and there is an opening. There are three always doubtful congressional districts in North Carolina; there are three districts in Alabama "impinging on Birmingham" and good fighting ground.

SENATOR MOSES, of New Hampshire, as quoted in the *Commonwealth*.

## HE OUGHT TO KNOW

A great and learned man once remarked that athletics had been added to theology as a source of bad feeling among men. A stranger in this country today might easily accept the point of view of this very estimable gentleman.

CHARLES C. BUELL, former Harvard football captain, in the *Independent*.

## AN EMANCIPATED BOURGEOISE

Gustav Stresemann belongs to that cultivated German middle-class whose members could hold no important post in pre-war Imperial Germany, yet played as in Dr. Stresemann's case an important part in the life of the country.

GEORGES OTTLIK, in the *Revue de Geneve*.

## BOOTLEGGING BECOMES COMPULSORY

There is no end of mischief in Portugal. Citizens of that republic are about to suffer an infringement of personal liberty beside which prohibition in Finland becomes a minor injustice. For everyone must wear shoes, according to a law which went into effect October 1.

Editorial, in the *Commonweal*.

## A MANHATTAN BREVITY

"I'm for Hoover. I'd rather eat than drink!"

Overheard in a New York cafeteria.

## AS IN A LOOKING GLASS

The Russian Revolution is yesterday: it is our own world. And when we are asked, in some American film, to be indignant over the spectacle of Cossacks riding down the people or of poor men refused justice by the representatives of a ruling caste, we wonder uneasily what would happen to a film which showed conditions in a Pennsylvania steel town, or the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

E. W., in the *New Republic*.

## THE EQUINES OF ERIN

No one who does not know Ireland can estimate the influence of the horse on Irish character. When nothing else seemed sacred, when the old order was in ruins, yet the horse remained—a creature to reverence and admire. If visitors consider the horse as the Irish totem, then I think they are very near the truth.

W. M. LETTS, in the *London Spectator*.

## CHINA GOES BLACK—NOT RED

Chinese leaders have decreed the observation of twenty-five "National Humiliation Days," anniversaries of the signing of treaties by which Chinese sovereignty has been whittled away and of other incidents derogatory to the national dignity, as days of mourning.

Editorial, in *Commerce and Finance*.

## WHAT ARE YOU GOOD FOR?

Commonly referred to by its learned practitioners as Vocational Guidance, the new science of job-chasing is also known as Vocational Analysis, Personnel Research, Occupational Guidance, Occupational Direction, Vocational Enlightenment, Moral and Career Guidance, Life-Career Direction, Human Engineering, Manhood Engineering, and Manpower Research.

A. F. RATTI, in the *American Mercury*.

## BEAUTIFUL MORONS, BRIGHT HAGS

The popular belief that the beautiful are dumb is due, I think, chiefly to the statement of the proposition in the wrong way. Nearly any woman who is not markedly beautiful will assure you that most beauties are hare-brained. However, if you ask her if she honestly believes that 1,000 intelligent women are really worse looking than would be a thousand morons, she will instantly answer in the negative.

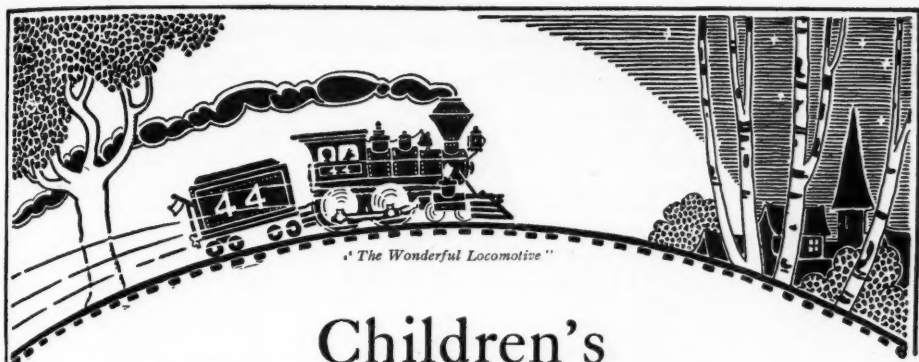
ALBERT EDWARD WIGGAM, in *Worlds Work*.

## GERMANS HIKE; BRITONS BUCK THE LINE

I remember as a small boy hearing, with infinite scorn, from a schoolfellow who had lived in Germany that the German schoolboy had no recreation but walks. Today the English schoolboy runs the danger of having no recreation but games!

LIONEL JAMES, in the *London Spectator*.





## Children's Books for Christmas

**E**ACH year when the new children's books come from the publishers' presses there are a few which have such a strong appeal that one wonders how children have grown up without them, and they are immediately placed joyfully on the shelf with the long row of children's stories that go to make permanent literature for juvenile libraries.

So it was, the other day, when "Millions of Cats" came into our hands, written and illustrated by Wanda Gag. It is a picture-book not to be forgotten and belongs to little children. As the title suggests it is a story of excess, but who would not enjoy such a frolic as a whole pond of water being made dry land by the millions and billions and trillions of cats who wanted to pass by, each taking just one sip. (Coward, McCann, \$1.35.)

Then there is Cornelia Meigs' story called "The Wonderful Locomotive." Peter is the hero, or perhaps it is the famous old locomotive Number Forty-Four which is the hero! In either case, the trip across the continent, with all that it accomplished and all that it encountered, makes very good reading for boys of five and six years of age. This book is arresting because Miss Meigs has won distinction as the author of books for older children; sea tales, historical tales, Indian stories and girls' adventure stories. (Macmillan, \$2.)

"The Alphabet of Aviation," by Paul Jones is a practical little volume and will be useful in explaining the details of flying. It is included here because it is the simplest book of the kind, although the pictures are only fair. (Macrae, Smith, \$2.)

On the other hand, a book which is charmingly illustrated is "The Water Elf and the Miller's Child," by Mary and Margaret Baker.

It adds another book with distinctive silhouettes and a pleasing story to the list of four or five titles which these authors have contributed and all of which children enjoy. (Duffield, \$2.)

The topic of illustrations reminds us that Pamela Bianco decided last year that she would like to illustrate her favorite poems from William Blake, and so we have an interesting book of poems, well printed, with sympathetic drawings. As the "Songs of Innocence" has been out of print for a number of years, this is a very welcome volume. (Macmillan, \$2.)

"The Fossil Fountain," by Arthur Mason and Mary Frank, introduces a new and friendly little animal, the trade rat. It is a story that all children who enjoy stories about animals will like to own. (Doubleday, Doran, \$1.75.)

Another book about animals and fairies and people is "The Sparrow House," by N. Grishina, who, a few years ago, gave us the delightful story of "Peter Pea." (Stokes, \$2.)

Angelo Patri has brought Pinnochio to America—a difficult feat with a personality so firmly rooted in Italian soil, but "Pinnochio in America" will make pleasant reading for the children with whom Pinnochio is already a favorite. (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.)

Boys and girls who like old legends and the spirit of far-off times will want to read "The Boy Who Was," by Grace Taber Hallock. It deals with the beautiful old town of Ravello, picturing its earliest times, when the ships of Ulysses passed that way, when the Greeks came, when Vesuvius destroyed Pompeii, and so continuing through the centuries almost up to the present day. The illustrations by Harry Wood are excellent. (Dutton, \$2.50.)

Another book of olden days, but of a more vigorous nature, is "The Swords of the Vikings,"



"Oh," cried the old man joyfully,  
 "Now I can choose  
 the prettiest  
 cat and take  
 it home with  
 me!" So he  
 chose one.  
 It was white.  
 But just  
 as he was a-  
 bout to leave,  
 he saw anothe-  
 er one all  
 black and white  
 and it seemed  
 just as pretty as the first.  
 So he took this one also.



From "Millions of Cats" by Wanda Gag

by Julia Adams. (Dutton, \$2.50.) It is a collection of tales of the ancient Danish gods, vikings, and semi-mythical kings, well-expressed by the couplet from Kingsley which heads the Foreword—

"The hollow oak our palace is,  
 Our heritage, the sea."

"The Runaway Papoose," by Grace Moon, is the story of a little Pueblo girl who is lost in the desert. Mrs. Moon, who has spent a great deal of time in New Mexico, has written two other books about Pueblo Indian children, "Chi Wee" and "Chi Wee and Loki." One feels in all of her stories a great realness.

Tony Sarg's "Book of Tricks" offers merriment for the whole family. There are many cut-outs and tricks and the book is full of fun.

"Bambi," by Felix Salten, has already been brought to the notice of the public, but children will enjoy this story of deer life in the woods quite as much as will adults. Younger children will follow the story, and older children will find more in it than that. (Simon & Schuster, \$2.50.)

"Count Billy," by Greville MacDonald, illustrated by Francis E. Bedford, is a sequel to "Billy Barnicoat" and takes Billy from Cornwall to Spain, where he proves the old adage true and finds himself owner of a castle. (Dutton, \$2.50.)

The children of England have, for a great many years, enjoyed the stories of E. Nesbit, but until this year no American publisher had offered them to American children. Three titles, "The Treasure Seekers," "The Would-Be-Goods," and "The New Treasure Seekers,"

are contained in "The Bastable Children," and Christopher Morley has written the preface. (Coward, McCann, \$3.)

Among the books which are sure to be interesting, but which have not yet come from the press are "The House at Pooh Corner," by A. A. Milne (Dutton, \$2) and "Ghond the Hunter," by Mr. Mukerji (Dutton, \$2.50.) "Kari the Elephant" was the book which a few years ago acquainted the children with Mr. Mukerji as an author.

Kari was the faithful elephant which did the work of horses and oxen on the farm in the days before the motor-truck was introduced into India. "Heroes from Hakluyt," with drawings by Paul Honoré and edited by the able hand of Charles Finger, is a book to be looked forward to. Lastly, there is Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York," illustrated by James Daugherty. (Doubleday, \$3.50.) Miss Anne Carroll Moore has, without changing a word of the original text, withdrawn from the history the tedious dissertations and long wearying passages which deter the young reader of to-day from enjoying what is really a quick-moving and delightful narrative.



From a drawing by Pamela Bianca for "Songs of Innocence"

For notices of current books see pages 34, 36, 38, 40 and 42 of the Advertising Section.